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On Right and Justice

WHEN we Bishops meet for deliberations, our first consideration is the religious and moral reconstruction of our communities and the Christianization of the individual because they are our foremost and specific tasks.

However, in these deliberations we are unable to lose sight of the general condition of our people, because economic, juridical and political conditions are almost insolubly tied up with religious and moral circumstances and because the satisfactory improvement of these conditions is the prerequisite for all moral rehabilitations of our people.

The nazi Reich contributed most perhaps to the moral decay of our nation by systematically suppressing the concept of justice (*Rechtsempfinden*). It derived all law unilaterally from the profit of this one people and from the will of one man, and failed to recognize any objective law which

This Pastoral Letter, signed by nine Bishops of western Germany at Werl, Westphalia, March 27, 1946, was withdrawn at the "request" of the U. S. Occupation Authorities. It was read in the British zone.

ultimately must be founded on God.

Thus it established a despotic rule that trampled upon all rights of the individual, the family and of nations in their mutual relationship.

Of course, a man who has no concept of law, who is terrorized, constantly spied upon and subjected to an all-mighty police, becomes obsessed with permanent uncertainty and fear, and loses the inner backbone. He then easily succumbs to insincerity and hypocrisy and faces the risk, whenever the opportunity arises, to look after his own interests by cunning and violence.

We had hoped that after the break-

down of nazism those would be punished severely who are responsible for the crimes which have been committed, in an appalling measure, against their own people as well as against members of other nations. We also had hoped that our new rulers would do their utmost to reestablish a consciousness of right and justice and safeguard anew the rightful privileges of the individual among the German people, thereby paving the way for its inner recovery.

LEGAL SECURITY

While we recognize efforts that have been made to introduce democratic methods of administration and to revive our educational system, we must confess that we are deeply disappointed because there still widely persists a lack of legal security.

A few weeks ago, we felt the need of expressing our views regarding the revolting proceedings, particularly in Silesia and the Sudetenland, where more than ten million Germans are brutally driven from their native land without any investigation whether individuals are personally guilty or not.

No pen can describe the unspeakable misery that has fallen over these regions, while humaneness and justice are wholly disregarded. All these people are now being crowded into the remaining parts of Germany, without any possessions, without being able to gain for themselves a new livelihood. It is hard to conceive how

these masses of people, thrown out of their homes, should not become elements deprived of inner peace who, therefore, will disturb the peace.

Furthermore, the German people's sense of justice suffers severely because of the fact that today, almost one year after the cessation of hostilities, millions of German prisoners of war are still, for an indefinite time, deprived of their freedom and kept captive under pitiful circumstances.

Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, are used like slaves for heavy forced labor, even though the only thing that can be held against them is the fact that they were soldiers. Many of these poor people still have no news from home and are still not permitted to communicate with their loved ones. A bitter feeling of injustice—many have lost their health, even their lives — must take root among them and their families, must take root so deeply that it can never be eradicated.

The often mistaken way by which those who have won the war try to purge public life and business of adherents of the old regime lies like an incubus upon the German people. We know how difficult it is, particularly for those looking at things from the outside, to distinguish between real nazis and those who were just sympathizers. We know in how truly disgusting and undignified a manner not a few Germans behave, who try to discredit their own fellow

countrymen and to have them removed.

But we are also forced to state that the dismissal of thousands of civil service officials and business people, without proper notice and without considering their legitimate needs; the arrest of many more thousands without judicial procedure, their detention without the opportunity of taking the stand themselves, and even deprived of the opportunity of maintaining contact with their families—we are forced to state that all this deeply shocks the people's sense of justice and right.

If the inner recovery of the people is to be brought about, everything that reminds us of the Gestapo, concentration camps and similar things must be banned from public life, otherwise there will be an inner poisoning that makes a moral and religious revival tremendously difficult if not impossible.

The Holy Father, in his momentous discourse on February 20, 1946, said it was an error to assert that a person could be treated as guilty or responsible solely because he belongs to a certain group of people, without making any effort to examine in each individual case whether he became personally guilty by acts of commission or omission.

This (the Holy Father declared) would mean interfering with the rights of God, Who alone, in His never-ending and loving wisdom,

could link the destinies of the guilty with those of the innocent.

With these words, the Holy Father has repudiated, clearly and unequivocally, the theory of the collective guilt of a whole nation and has made it plain that acting accordingly would amount to interference with the rights of God. He also, thereby, refused to grant that members of any given group of people be treated simply as criminals, without having proven the guilt in every single case.

At this point we cannot leave unmentioned another measure which runs counter to law and justice and which is apt to endanger the Christian order of property. In the eastern districts of what remains of Germany, the slogan of "agrarian reform" has been used to dispossess landowners in a radical manner.

We Bishops are convinced that the uneven distribution of property, especially real estate, is one of the deepest sources of social unrest. We consider it one of the foremost tasks of government to see to it that earthly possessions be properly distributed, especially now that the soil is restricted and millions of Germans have lost everything.

We consider it a goal to be earnestly sought after that as many German families as possible be given a piece of German soil. The Church is willing to make its contribution with the estates she owns. However, what now occurs in eastern Germany

has hardly anything to do with a true agrarian reform.

Agrarian reform must be carefully considered and thoroughly prepared by experts if a considerable decrease of production is to be avoided—a decrease that especially now must have catastrophic consequences. Such a reform must particularly affect publicly owned land, which so far has been used for military and unnecessary purposes of transportation.

If private property is to be included, there should be under no circumstances total dispossession without compensation, unless there be a question of reparation for serious wrongs committed. The former owners must be permitted to keep an adequate share to secure for themselves and their children the continuation of farming.

Those dispossessed should receive compensation that is suitable in the light of all given circumstances and general conditions. Only by observing these rules can an agrarian reform be

just. Then only can there be any hope that the people will take new roots in their home soil and produce wholesome crops from it.

"Opus Justitiae Pax," peace is the work of justice: thus reads the motto of our Holy Father. The whole world longs for peace. It goes like an outcry from east to west, from north to south: *"Dona Nobis Pacem,"* give us peace.

True, lasting and total peace is given us by God, only if we men again recognize law and justice as the foundation of all community life. May victors and vanquished alike always be mindful of this!

May everyone within his own precincts beware of encroaching upon justice and do his share, so that particularly the younger generation be delivered from the pernicious error that might goes before right! May it gain new respect for the majesty of justice, founded in God. Only when such respect is regained can better, truly peaceful days return.

On Soviet Russia

Compromises made by the United States representatives to the United Nations are not a sign of weakness though the Russians may regard them as such. (The Russians) have to learn. They have never lived with the opposition; they have always liquidated their opposition. It will take time and patience to get across the idea that you live with the opposition and that you do not have a revolution every time you disagree.—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Luther, Hitler and Chaos

LIAM BROPHY, PH.B.

Reprinted from HIBERNIA*

"CHAOS will have come again. Nobody will want to be governed by the opinion or authority of anybody else. Everybody will want to make himself his own Rabbi." Thus Martin Luther wrote to Melancthon when he began to observe the first fruits of "private judgment."

When the non-Catholic world commemorates the fourth centenary of the Reformer's death this year, it will do well to survey the modern chaos and see in it the final working out of the Lutheran revolt from authority. It will do well to assess the consequences of a movement which began by separating action and behavior from thought and belief. The sum of miseries that have resulted from the Lutheran "Theory of Two Moralities" has worked out with mathematical inevitability. "Christ has nothing to do with the regulations of worldly life, but leaves them to the world," declared Doctor Martin, thus instituting that diabolical dualism which has rent our civilization. In practice it meant letting the world go to the devil by cutting it adrift from the Rock of Peter.

Luther's many inconsistencies demanded some explanation, so he invented what must have seemed the ingenious theory of the two moral-

ties. The peasants, who were being cruelly exploited and overtaken by the princes, looked to Luther for help and he undertook to champion their cause. Then, without warning, this champion of the oppressed urged the princes to destroy them. "To kill a peasant is not murder," he wrote, "it is helping to extinguish the conflagration. Let there be no half measures. Crush them. Cut their throats. Transfix them. To kill a peasant is to destroy a mad dog." Thousands of humble folk were slain in the Peasants' War on the advice of the *pater pauperum*. This was conduct which needed explaining, even to the princes. Luther explained it, or rather explained it away, by a theory which was to cause unlimited harm in the world, though it was very readily accepted and adopted by his audience of sixteenth century Germany—the theory of the two moralities, the "double life."

"The Kingdom of Christ wholly belongs to the order of grace," wrote Luther, "but the kingdom of the world and worldly life belong to the order of the law. The two kingdoms are of different species and belong to different worlds." Very eagerly the princes accepted his theory that,

* 7 Ely Place, Dublin, C2, Eire, March, 1946

though they be Christians, they were not to rule as Christians, that when they ruled they did so strictly as princes and not as Christians. As individuals they were to consider themselves as Christians, but their office as rulers they were to consider in no way connected with their Faith. Luther was careful to repeat and clarify his theory. "Every Christian leads a double life," he said, "one faithful and spiritual, the other as a citizen or a worldly one. . . . Civilian life does not regard God."

SECULARISM

Thus began that evil of secularism whereby the social, political, economic and cultural spheres of human activity have been given over to the Prince of this World, an evil which the modern Popes hope to remedy and repair by a vigorous Catholic Action. Pope Leo XIII sounded the call to react against the dualism of the Lutheran revolt when he said: "It is unlawful to follow one line of conduct in private and another in public, respecting privately the authority of the Church, but publicly rejecting it." That admonition was necessary, for Catholics had long been breathing the poisonous air of secularism without being aware of the harm it was creating in their own minds. There was a tendency to accept the maxims of the world, to confine religion to the sanctuary and leave the practical affairs of life to "the rulers of the dark aeon."

That tendency is being checked by the world-wide movement of Catholic Action, which aims at restoring all things—*omnia*—in Christ.

The modern chaos is a grim commentary on the effective way in which the spirit of dualism and secularism has destroyed and disintegrated all things in the Prince of Darkness, who, like Luther, revolted against Authority. In the political and social domains it produced the "Might is Right" policy of our modern dictators. "Wherever the princes take their power from," wrote Luther, "it does not regard us. It is the will of God, irrespective whether they have stolen their power or assumed it by robbery." "If anyone has the might he obtained it from God," he declared further, "therefore he has also the right." We have seen the working-out of that doctrine in Hitlerism.

In Hitler, indeed, we see the logical conclusions of Lutheranism in their terrifying finality. Since Houston Stewart Chamberlain first coupled the names of Luther and Hitler, many books and pamphlets have been written to show the close parallel that existed between the minds of the two men. The latest book of this type, written by a Lutheran, Peter F. Weiner—*Martin Luther: Hitler's Spiritual Ancestor*—is more embittered against the Reformer than most Catholic works on Bro. Martin. Like the Vatican librarian Denifle's sensational work, *Luther und Luthertum in der*

ersten Entwicklung, written in 1904, it bases all its assertions on the actual statements of Luther himself and those of the leaders of the Nazi Party. It is interesting to come across this citation from an article written by Dean Inge in the "Church of England Newspaper" on August 4, 1944: "There is very little to be said for this coarse and foul-mouthed leader of revolution (Luther). It is a real misfortune for humanity that he appeared just at the crisis of the Christian world. Even our burly Defender of the Faith was not a worse man, and did far less mischief. We must hope that the next swing of the pendulum will put an end to Luther's influence in Germany."

Hitler declared that, "Luther, if he could be with us, would give us his blessing." Rosenberg asserted that the work which Luther began in Germanizing Christianity was to be completed by National Socialism. If the Nazi leaders sought justification for their actions, they found it ready and in abundance in Luther's counsels to the German princes. As politicians they doubtlessly drew a fine distinction between the world of grace and the world of political action. If they sought justification for their concentration-camps, they found it in Luther's advice to the Elector of Saxony to have a prison built and reserved for pastors whose sermons might be regarded as reprehensible. He himself mentioned a certain John Sturm who

was incarcerated till the day of his death. Alas for all those who invoked their "private judgment" against the authority of Luther. They were given a faint foretaste of Belsen and Buchenwald.

If the Nazis required a Lutheran pronouncement on the glories of war, they found it in such utterances as, "One must cut the throats of one's enemies, pillage them, burn them, do everything that may do harm to them until one has beaten them." If they sought a foundation for their notorious anti-Jewish Nuremberg Laws, they found it in Luther's antisemitic code, wherein he urged, *inter alia*: "Set fire to their synagogues and schools and what will not burn, heap earth over it, so that no man can see a stone or relic of them for ever; pull down their houses, since they perpetrate the same nefarious things in them as in their schools; confiscate their property and drive them out of the country."

TIME FOR CATHOLIC ACTION

For almost half a century Catholic and Protestant scholars had been giving the lie to the Luther legend. World War II has exploded it with ruthless violence. The saintly, heroic Reformer of the *Hier steh' ich kann nicht anders. Gott helf mir. Amen*, has given way to a revolting, sensual and diabolical Luther. And it is well to recall the phrase of Lucien Febvre, Professor of Strassbourg University: "Luther is one of the fathers of the

modern world and of the modern spirit." That phrase goes deep.

The modern world is a secularized world and the modern spirit is cut off from God. The effect in philosophy is seen in irrational Rationalism and all the modern cults that insist on the old Pelagian cant that man is sufficient in and for himself, from the Humanitarianism of Comte to the Scientific Humanism of Wells and Huxley. Man is the measure of "all things" at a time when all things are divorced from religion and the spirit. The Intellectualism of the Scholastics has been superseded by empirical ideals of knowledge which have reached a *ne plus ultra* in the crude materialism of Marx. The effect in culture is seen in the revolt against abstract symbolism and the production of the chaotic effects of Realism. Nature and supernature were once linked through the Liturgy. Dualism broke that link and left men to fall back on nature alone to satisfy the thirst for things eternal. The effects of that frustrated thirst are to be seen in the distorted and tormented shapes of modern art, where the very form of man seems to be mangled in a chaos of his own making.

Luther and dualism and secularism separated the political, social, economic and cultural worlds from the energizing sources of religion, and they have withered away or become things of monstrous growth through finding a nourishment in him who led the most

fearful of all the revolts — Lucifer.

It is well that the call to Catholic Action should go forth at a time when the forces of secularism are either played out or are mutually hostile and likely, in some measure at least, to cancel each other out. Thus in his *Survey of Fifty Years of Science*, Professor Osborne says: "In my time I have seen the materialists deny the very existence of all spirituality and now Science turns backwards — I should say forwards — and says there is something outside matter." What the Italian philosopher Alliotta referred to some years ago as the "idealistic revolt against science" will blaze into open revolution when the world recovers from the shock of war which has written such a definite *Finis* to an era of human history, an era which began with the Lutheran revolt. The Modernists and scientific Humanists who sought to replace the *primauté du spirituel* by the primacy of the scientific have been answered by science. The Humanitarians, the Utopianists and preachers of the Brotherhood of Man without the Fatherhood of God have been disappointed in their belief in the perfectibility of man. Even Aldous Huxley has come to see that the doctrine of Original Sin accords better with the brutal facts of a fallen world than any theory of "natural reasonableness."

It is for Catholic Actionists to take advantage of the tide of reaction against the long Lutheran revolt and

all its consequences. Now indeed they must act in and on history to bind up all that has been put asunder by dualism and secularism. Ireland has endured centuries of martyrdom resisting an alien way of life that would destroy her innate spirituality and force her to separate Faith from action and belief from practice. As reward she finds herself today the least tainted of all the nations by the "acids of modernity." But we have not altogether escaped their corroding influence. Our Gaelic attitude to life was the very antithesis of the Lutheran theory of two moralities. In a happier and humbler way even than the Puritan, our ancestors "lived as ever in the great Taskmaster's eye." They

were as deeply spiritual as the modern world is materialistic. The Communion of Saints was for them a real comradeship. Modern dualism would have appeared to them as inconsistent and blasphemous. Catholic Actionists in Ireland must preserve that spiritual attitude as an antidote to modern secularism; they must strive that the ancient wholeness of life is not destroyed by corruption from within or invasion from without. The Lutheran revolt is working itself out in chaos. In the approaching night of civilization, it is our duty to keep our lights burning and our loins girthed, that is, by Faith and Action to hold ourselves in readiness, for now, "the readiness is all."



Sound Sense

It is all very well for powerful men to say that these industrial controversies and work stoppages are none of the public's business, but it is my prediction that the public will make them its business and that in the absence of a readiness on the part of either huge corporations or powerful labor unions to abide by the findings of impartial fact-finding bodies, there will be real danger to a continuance of the freedom of action which management and labor in America have always known, and which it is decidedly to their interest as well as to the interest of the Nation as a whole to preserve.—*Hon. Jerry Voorhis, of California, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 15, 1946.*

Padre's Reconversion

EMERIC A. LAWRENCE, O.S.B.

*Reprinted from ORATE FRATRES**

THEY left today, the first groups of men to be released under the point discharge system. They have gone home, back to the States they dreamed of so long. It was a good and joyous day, even for those who waved goodbye from the dock. The exodus had finally begun. The Promised Land was in sight.

They had a good send-off. The Red Cross girls and men were there to hand out cigarettes, coffee and donuts, just as other Red Cross girls and men had done when these men first came overseas. The band was there. You could almost see where their hearts were as they played "Sidewalks of New York." They weren't quite equal to "Body and Soul," requested by the delighted little colored soldier who literally leaped into the life-preserver jacket someone held out for him; but they executed "Auld Lang Syne" with the proper depth of feeling. As you glanced at the faces both ashore and on the departing barge, you knew that friendship's creating power had not been idle and that those fortunate highpointers had left part of their hearts with the long months of their young lives on this island that they had hated so vociferously.

The General was there, too, to say goodbye to his men. You sort of expected him and were glad he had come. The General was all right. As Father Reedy said when you drove off together: "His heart is as big and soft as his language is rough." That was one way of saying what everyone there was thinking.

The men are gone, but you remain with the less fortunate ones, with your inadequate forty-five points, your memories of sixteen months in these Aleutian Islands and your contemplation of the future. It is hard to keep the memories from influencing the contemplation. Maybe you shouldn't try. Your life has been changed by those months; and you must face the fact that today's departure is the beginning of your own return to the States and to the life you left behind nearly three years ago.

So why not try to bring memories and plans together tonight? Go back to that rainy, muddy day you arrived out there at the end of the Chain. (Or was it the end of the world?) You weren't very cheerful—not that day nor the ones immediately following. You felt as though the Bering Sea on the one side and the Pacific Ocean on the

* Collegeville, Minn., January 27, 1946.

other were slowly squeezing your island and its occupants together, and that the mysteries of war, suffering and evil were coming down on top of you to complete the suffocation.

Then you learned that your former student, Red, was buried there. You visited his grave, came to your senses and became a priest again. That visit colored your Aleutian life, perhaps even what remains of your priestly life. You still hated the mud, fog, rain, wind and snow, not for what they did to you, but for what they did to the men who walked in their dismal, saturating influence.

But the days flew by. Mondays pushed Saturdays. Months were only weeks. You thought you'd get a lot of studying done during those long winter nights, but you hadn't taken into account the little intangible businesses of a chaplain's life, especially the associations with the men that you knew were so necessary if they were to accept you and what you had to impart by way of what Christ had come to give.

You associated with the men who flew the bombers and with those who flew the fighters and noted all the familiar comparisons and conclusions already made by others. No matter what they flew, you liked them all. You attended the briefings of the bombing missions, blessed the planes as they took off, prayed them back. You assimilated the bombing squadron's frame of mind—its expectant

fear, its insecurity, its anger, its pride. Were they not flying the longest over-water (and what water!) medium bomber route in the world? You recall the night you sat up with them waiting for the two crews that didn't come back and were never heard of again. You didn't want another night like that.

THEY DIDN'T COME BACK

But you knew there would be others. And there were. There was that day in May when you spoke for the first time at one of those briefings. It was to be a rough mission, and you were to be transferred to another island; so the commanding officer asked you to say a few words. In a choked voice that you were ashamed of but couldn't help, you tried to tell them to offer the entire flight with all its possibilities to God. Then, as you sat down, you felt you weren't the only offerer of sacrifices, the only priest, in that room.

The briefing broke up. You heard some confessions. And Zambo, unmindful of the crowd as always, knelt at your feet for your blessing. Then there was Swede, Zambo's pilot. He wasn't of your faith, but you were his friend. You knew you were his friend, because he had asked you a week before: "Padre, if anything ever happens to me, I want you to be the one to tell my wife." You shook hands with Swede as he was

going out to his plane. He said simply: "Padre, I'm so glad you were here." He was wearing his bright red sweater; he never went on a mission without it. You never realized till that night how appropriate the color was. Priest and victim, and they called him "Swede."

It wasn't easy next day to sit down to write the letter you had promised him. And a letter to Zambo's mother. And other letters like them. Too many letters. You didn't ever acquire facility in that kind of composition.

Other memories there were too. Not so clearly outlined as that last smile of Swede's, but rather impressions that accumulated. Like Jack's holiness. Jack was a radio operator, and a good one. He wanted to be a missionary brother with an airplane. You recall how startled you were when he told you about his dream: how he was kneeling at our Lord's feet, and our Lord laid His hands on his head and made him so happy that he was sure he was in heaven. You wondered if it wasn't a warning to get ready to give Jack up. But no. He came back with flak holes in his plane, but he always came back. And now you know that our Lord's hands on Jack's head probably meant that he would be a missionary brother after all . . . and with a plane.

Other impressions? Your confirmation of what has so often been said about GI ingenuity, GI humor, GI griping, GI wickedness, and GI good-

ness. Your constantly growing affection for your men vying with concern and grief over their faults. Your anger at the false impression that the press, Catholic and secular, has given of religion in the army. Your being haunted for three years by the discrepancy between the number of men at your Masses and the number of Catholics on the population lists—to say nothing of that other discrepancy between the professed faith of the men and the work, recreation, thought and conversation that went into the making of their daily lives. Your reflections on the escapism of men, their superstition and materialism, their universal ignorance of the Faith. All going into the composite conviction you now have of what these men have missed and what they now need.

And that brings you back to today. To these departures; to the new world; to your own prospective "re-conversion" to civilian life; to your imminent task and that of the Church. Now you realize more clearly than ever before what the priesthood means, what priests have done, what they haven't done, what they must do. You see that because you have lived with these men in their "natural" state—on their own, cut off from the influences of home, mothers and wives.

You are aware of the danger of simplification and generalization. But you cannot help concluding that the

war has brought to light an unhealthy condition in the Mystical Body of Christ that not even the return of servicemen to civilian life will heal. And that is the main reason for these reflections: you want others to know that fact too. You want the whole Church to realize that the inner condition of Catholicism is not determined by census figures, nor by the number of Catholics decorated in the war, nor by the number of men at Mass and Holy Communion (the number of those who do not go is never given), nor by the success of "Catholic" movies, nor even by the touching generosity of Catholic servicemen to native missions. You want these things known so that further weakening of the Body of Christ may be forestalled and a cure set in motion.

PRIEST AND PEOPLE

So here you are. What now? You couldn't and didn't feel it necessary to catalogue clerical shortcomings. There would be no point in that, and besides it would be pretty hard to get your article printed. Couldn't all the shortcomings be summed up in one word, *separation*? Separation of Christians' thinking, knowing and doing from Christ's thinking, knowing and doing—separation of life from Faith—a separation that resulted mainly from the separation of priests from their people?

The Faith cannot live and grow

without the priesthood. The priesthood is for the people and the glory of God, even as Christ was for the people and the glory of God. But they must be *together*, priests and people. The ones must know what the others do. The priesthood is life. Christ's life for this world. Through it He worships, teaches, acts. But the people must be one with the priesthood, they must join themselves to it, live, think, pray and sacrifice with it so that they may draw from it the divine plasma Christ gave it and so bring their world back to life. And the priests, saturated with the mercy, the charity, the sacrifice-mindedness of Christ, must be one with their people if they are to know what crosses the people carry, what encouragement and consolation they require.

Then you thought: "An ivory tower is an ivory tower whether it be in a monastery or on an island on the rim of the world. How easy it is to write stuff like this! But how hard to put your ideals into concrete working!" You remembered your own efforts. You remembered especially your weaknesses, your lack of enthusiasm, your own separation from your men, your defeatism. But then you remembered Zambo and Swede. Zambo and Swede, flying west on a mission that ended in eternity, offering their lives to God and having them accepted. Hadn't they lived the Faith that was in them? And hadn't

that Faith come, at least in part, from you? "Padre, I'm so glad you were here!"

"So glad you were here." Wasn't that the secret? When all the people can say that to all the padres, then and only then will *their* "missions," their *living* and *doing* flow from their *being*. Then and only then will they be other Christs in their surroundings.

Now, you thought, is no time for defeatism. But for more and more prayer, more and more sacrifice, more and more work. The failure of the Saviour to do much with the people of His time must never be taken as an excuse for idleness, but rather as a consolation for priests and people alike *after* they have poured out the last drop of effort in the restoration of their world. Then was not the

time: "My hour is not yet come." Now it is.

"He shall rule from sea to sea. And all kings of the earth shall adore Him, all nations shall serve Him" (Psalm 71). That is the prophecy. The prophets were never caught short. It must be fulfilled. But how can it be fulfilled except through the coming-together of Christ-in-the-world-today, His priesthood, with the laity of the Church, that "chosen generation, that kingly priesthood" whom He selected out of the world to be His instruments in the world?

Red can stand for many things. You reflected on the contrasts. If it is a label for a godless apostolate, it is also and above all the color of Swede's sweater, the color of the vestments for the feasts of martyrs, the color of Love, of the Holy Spirit.



Public and Strikes

The public certainly has the right to demand that it cease to be victimized by industrial disputes. But an apathetic, poorly informed, indifferent public will either continue to pay the price of its indifference, or it will be continually crying for Nazi-Moscow-like suppression of strikes by the Government, or by compulsory arbitration. Neither of these is compatible with democracy.—*Thomas E. Shortell, S.J., Director, Institute of Industrial Relations, Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.*

The Nature of Progress

DONALD J. PIERCE

*Reprinted from the CANADIAN MESSENGER OF THE SACRED HEART**

FIFTY years ago almost everyone who had thought about the subject of human progress was more or less persuaded that the condition of mankind tended steadily to improve. No one denied, of course, that there were brief periods of depression in human affairs when the state of man stood still or even declined. There had been serious, even disastrous business slumps in both Europe and America from time to time throughout the nineteenth century. There also had been occasional wars which seemed to imply that there was still a large element of the savage or the criminal in man. Those who studied history were familiar with even greater lapses in the human record of improvement, as in the religious wars which marked the dismemberment of Christendom, and the barbarian inroads that turned classical antiquity into the Dark Ages. But the seeming improvement in the condition of civilized man that had occurred within a century was so vast and undeniable that optimism about the future of the race prevailed in most quarters.

Much of this confidence, though not all, was based upon a simple and crude view of the world. Everyone was aware that great progress had lately

been made in such fields as medicine, manufacturing, communication, and scientific research. Most people knew that the population of the earth was increasing rapidly, that international travel was becoming safer and cheaper, that police-forces were more common and more efficient. There was little disposition to ask why these changes were occurring, and whether they were likely to continue. Still less were people inclined to question the desirability of the new order that was emerging. The tone of world fashion had long been set by the ruling class in Great Britain and that class throughout most of the nineteenth century was very well satisfied with things in general and with itself in particular. It had achieved leadership in the field that it valued most—that of money-making. It had discovered a doctrine, "evolution," which set the seal of "scientific" approval on British success. Evolution, as popularly understood, meant that "getting along" was the most important thing in the universe and was closely associated, if not identical, with virtue. To a world glutted with material advances, evolution seemed to promise a future of steady improvement.

An ominous element in the theory

* 2 Dale Ave., Toronto, Canada, February, 1946

of evolution that too often was misunderstood was the doctrine of the "struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest." Whether or not this was a true description of man's life on earth, it was certainly a declaration of war or an invitation to violence. Contrary to the popular misconception, the "struggle for existence" never ends and the "fittest" who have survived until today may succumb tomorrow, and finally will be removed by death. Those who had succeeded in life were tempted to ignore these darker implications and to regard "evolution" as an invitation to rest. "Lesser breeds without the law" could find in evolutionary ideas encouragement to prepare for battle with a view to becoming the "fittest" of a later day. Prominent among the groups who began to aspire to succeed Britain's ruling classes as the world's "fittest," were the Germans, the Russians and the Japanese. The object of this "struggle for existence" was world-power; and since an unchecked appetite for power knows no limits, the ultimate intention of each of the competitors was to repress, if not to enslave, all the others. The method that was to be used was war, without any certain restriction on the choice of weapons.

Today little remains, except in intellectual backwaters, of the enthusiasm for "evolution" that inspired the world half a century ago, and instead of a general confidence in hu-

man progress, there is growing pessimism. People wonder whether we will recover from the effects of the Second World War, whether there will be a third world war, and, if war comes again, whether there will be any world to have any kind of war. Britain, which stood so high in the material sphere during the nineteenth century, now has dropped to third place and faces admittedly grave prospects of further decline. Russia, largely through the elimination of rivals, has advanced to second place; but her people are sunk deeper than ever in superstition, ignorance and oppression, and there seems to be little chance of their emerging from these conditions as long as they are held united under a Socialist régime. The Germans and the Japanese, who claimed to regard themselves as master races destined to rule mankind, have been beaten to the earth by the only power they had come to acknowledge, force, and will scarcely aspire again to supremacy within generations. Socialists, by gaining power in a few countries like Russia and Germany, have revealed the emptiness of their creed. The atomic bomb now threatens civilization. "Evolution" does not seem to have been very "progressive."

STANDARD OF PROGRESS

It would be difficult for any one, considering the condition of the world at the present moment, to find evidence that we have, on the whole,

progressed much or even held our own since the beginning of the century. Over vast areas of Europe and Asia destitution, disease and despair now reign, where fifty years ago there were thriving communities. Hundreds of millions of people whose ancestors two generations back enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom and self government now are dominated by totalitarian tyranny. The wealthiest populations of the world are decidedly less aware today than they were in the late nineteenth century of the profound differences between liberty and despotism, principles and interests, truth and fashion. But the picture is not all dark. Scientific knowledge, the ability to improve man's material condition, has increased enormously. Great numbers of people have benefited from this advance. Best of all, a variety of superstitions that had enslaved the race have been destroyed wholly or in part. Among the myths that have thus fallen or been discarded are "Nordic superiority," "evolution," "rugged individualism," "free" trade, perhaps even nationalism and Statism. Though we have gone back in some respects, we have advanced in others.

In order to make even a moderately accurate estimate of the present condition of mankind and of the extent to which man has progressed, if at all, since any particular time in the past, it is necessary to know exactly what human progress is. To what sort of things do we refer when we speak of

progress? Do we include, in such a consideration, all communities? All races? All classes? All individuals?

It is possible to speak of the progress of one community, one race, one group, one individual. But in so speaking we must not forget the others. Often one part of the human species has progressed, in a sense, at the expense of other parts. History is so full of this sort of thing that one sometimes is tempted to wonder whether it has not been man's most typical fate. The civilizations of the ancient world were all erected on a basis of slavery. After almost two thousand years of consistent opposition to the principle of servitude, Christendom has hardly succeeded in eliminating the practice. Yet the gulf between slavery and freedom is almost the widest in human affairs. Clearly, if we are to measure progress and compare its occurrence in one place with that in others, we must have accurate instruments, and a fixed standard of measurement.

The constant standard upon which all true measures of progress must be founded is provided by human nature. All human beings are fundamentally alike, though differing superficially in every way. Thus, all normal people are capable of possessing or enjoying beliefs, knowledge, occupations, property, citizenship, and certain other sorts of things. Moreover, all normal people tend to derive the most benefit from the same kinds of things. Thus,

for example, it is not true that it makes no difference, as some have said, how small a man's income is, so long as he is happy or satisfied. No two people may require the same amount of wealth, but all tend to need about the same amount. The fact that a savage from the Upper Niger would probably dislike violin music does not argue that one branch of the human race naturally needs tom-toms. Yet there are some critics who are constantly seizing upon certain aspects of human conditions, such as poverty, ignorance, or superstition to try to prove that the victims are naturally suited to their handicaps. The chief reason for poverty or ignorance or superstition in one quarter is usually avarice, laziness, or deception in another. We are all more alike than the ambitious and the unscrupulous care to admit.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

The standard of progress which is supplied by human nature is applied by the philosophy and the science of history. The philosophy of history tells us what are the different kinds of advantages that man may enjoy and what are the conditions prerequisite to his enjoying them. The science of history is the instrument by which we discover what advantages man enjoyed in the past and how his enjoyment of them changed in character and extent. From the philosophy of history we may learn that all people

have beliefs, that without private ownership there can be no freedom, that culture is derived from religion. History reveals to us that at one time in Europe the belief prevailed that usury was immoral, but that afterward beliefs so changed that successful usurers became a highly honored group. The philosophy of history makes it clear to us that man has always had the same nature and essentially the same needs since his beginning as man, and that one person's needs are fundamentally the same as another's. History tells the story of how the human race has learned, slowly and painfully, ways to supply its needs, while continually, for one reason or another, denying great masses of humanity a large share of their rights.

True progress consists in an improvement in the advantages enjoyed by mankind. Among these advantages are natural phenomena, such as soil and climate, human neighbors, beliefs, knowledge, occupations, ownerships, citizenships. But in order that a person may enjoy a thing as an advantage, it is not enough to be in contact with it. It is also necessary properly to appreciate it. A true belief is of no use to anyone, until it is accepted; true knowledge, unless it is acquired; skill to labor, if it is not exercised. The savage in the wilderness could derive no good from many of the amenities of civilized life, because he lacks the experience which alone gives

these things meaning. The barbarian, the despiser of restraint, in our modern cities, fails likewise to benefit from many of the advantages about him; because he is so bent on satisfying his craving for power or wealth or pleasure that his mind is almost closed to everything else. People can fail to progress, or sink to lower levels, both by being deprived of the things that make life better and by worshipping

false gods. Generally the two are found side by side. When the heirs of Christendom worship false gods, it is because they want to do it, and the loss and the degradation that follow are not inevitable, but the result of free decisions. We can progress, if we wish to do so, but not without making a choice between selfishness and self-restraint.



Religion and Government

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?—
WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS, *Sept. 17, 1796.*

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Our Future Citizens

REV. THOMAS A. EDISON

*Reprinted from The WAGE EARNER**

THE people of France have just rejected a constitution which would not admit or guarantee to them the right to educate their children according to their consciences. If this constitution had been ratified, the existence of Catholic or other religious schools would have been at the mercy of the legislative body. They could have been outlawed at any time without recourse to higher authority. If, on the other hand, religious schools continued after the constitution had been ratified, it would be not by right under the constitution but by the sufferance of the legislative body.

Such a dangerous possibility in any country warrants a review of the basic rights of education and an examination of trends in our own country. In the United States religious education is recognized and has been upheld by the Supreme Court.

Education in this country began as private religious education. Parents wished to educate their children according to their religious convictions. Public education began as a supplementary means to take care of those who could not afford private school education. Public edu-

cation supported by public monies grew and became predominant. However, when the right to the private school to exist was challenged, it was upheld by the Supreme Court.

Now the question is: Has France or any country the right to deny to its people the right of religious education? Or has France or any other country the right to educate all its children in public schools contrary to the demands of the children's parents? This is a very fundamental question. Today leftist governments are insisting on education in the public schools exclusively.

First: to whom does the child belong? We say very emphatically that the child belongs to the parents. Therefore, the primary right to educate the child belongs to the parents. The government cannot deny this right to the parents nor claim it for itself.

What then is the role of the state in this regard? Certainly it should not hinder the parents in exercising their right. It should when necessary aid the parents in fulfilling their obligation. Only when the parents fail to educate the child, can the state insist on public education, because

* 607 Fine Arts Bldg., 58 Adams Street West, Detroit 26, Mich., May 10, 1946

the state has a right to demand an educated citizenry.

There are certain trends in our country in regards to what role the state shall play in aiding the children of the country in procuring their education. One of these not only recognizes the right of the parents to educate their children according to the conviction of their consciences but also recognizes the fact that the state can supply aid to the child in the course of its education.

SCHOOL BUSES

In some states the children of private schools are transported to their schools in public busses or are supplied with text books. At present there is a bill before the Federal Congress to supply all children, regardless of school, with school lunches.

There is another trend of thought which says that no aid can be given to the children of private schools in the pursuit of education according to their consciences. Such aid, they say, is a violation of the fundamental principle of American political life, i.e. the separation of church and state. Following out their ideas they have a counter bill before Congress that would give federal aid only to children of public schools, barring such aid to children of private religious schools.

In giving such aid to children of religious schools there is no question of the union of church and state. The state in principle would not be giving aid to any particular religion but would simply be aiding the parents and their children in their quest for education. This is an accepted principle in Canada.

When the state refuses such aid, it is penalizing the child and its parents who are following the dictates of their consciences. These same parents pay not only for their religious education but are required also to pay for the support of public education.

If and when it is found that the children of both the public and religious schools are in need of help, it would be discrimination to give to one and not to the other. When it is found that the government must supply books, transportation, food or other services to local boards of education but refuses the same to children of religious schools, it is putting an extra tax on parents who believe in religious education.

The children of our religious schools are an integral part of our nation. We should make it as easy as possible for them to obtain their education and grow strong as American citizens. It is our patriotic duty to support aid to the children of all schools, both public and religious.

Poland and Soviet Friendship

HON. CLARE BOOTHE LUCE
Representative from Connecticut

MAY 3, 1946, marks the one hundred and fifty-fifth anniversary of the first written constitution which gave democratic rights to a European nation.

The Polish constitution of 1791 was democratic as we here in America understand democracy: it proclaimed the rule of the majority, while guaranteeing to protect dissenting minorities. Pressed as the Polish people were then between two powerful imperialistic aggressors, Prussia and Russia, it was one of the most courageous political acts in history when the Polish Diet solemnly adopted as the basic law the historic sentence that "All power in civil society is derived from the will of the people."

This courage is still the hallmark of Polish character. Time and again in this war, which began in Poland and has not yet ended for Polish men and women, the Poles on land, sea—and in the air have proven their ancient fearlessness in the face of almost certain defeat.

Only real faith can produce courage of that kind; faith in certain moral principles, faith in the eternal justice of God.

Certainly no people, except perhaps

Address delivered at Exercises of the Polish-American Congress, Connecticut Chapter, at New Britain, Conn., May 3, 1946.

the Jews, have ever needed faith so much. Today that faith is needed more than ever. It is needed, not alone in Poland, ravaged by two marauding armies; not alone in Scotland, where 40,000 Polish veterans ponder in exile their fruitless victory; not alone in Italy, where the men and women of General Anders' Second Polish Corps think bitterly on Monte Cassino and wonder whether the Poles who died there may not, after all, have been the luckier ones. Here, too, in America, Americans of Polish ancestry still need faith. They need it to sustain their belief that in the long run God's justice will prevail among men; and that courage and sacrifice for conscience's sake will not go unrewarded.

America's task is to translate this faith into works. First, we must use every political pressure possible to restore self-government in Poland, and we must enable the Polish people to feed and house and clothe themselves. Partly this will have to be done through UNRRA, but it can

be greatly aided by full restoration of uncensored parcel mail deliveries so that clothes and food from North and South America can be sent direct to relatives and friends in Poland.

The present government in Poland, like other governments in other European countries, has finally promised to call a general election. We all know that the promise of such an election was the basic incentive to unquestioned American acceptance of the Yalta agreement. We also know, from results of elections held under American and British protection in Austria, and even under Soviet occupation in Hungary, that a truly representative election in Poland is bound to change the complexion of the present regime to one more representative of the desires of its people.

But we dare not hope that such an election will change the basic situation in Poland, which is that of a puppet and not a free state. Elections have changed little in Hungary, where the Soviet occupation forces have just been increased, resulting in a further loss of food and of freedom to the Hungarian people.

Most of us must realize by now that real change for the better in Europe, as in the Middle and the Far East, can be brought about only through over-all diplomatic action, which will deal with the European problem as a whole. It is such action that Secretary of State Byrnes is attempting to initiate at Paris now.

With all our heart we wish him well and applaud his efforts. But the trouble is that the men of Washington have begun late for such an attempt to be easily successful. Our efforts, not only in behalf of Poland, but of all other oppressed European nations, are too often hampered at the source—in America itself—by individuals and groups whose main interest is in promoting the extension of Soviet spheres of influence, in the false name of Soviet-American friendship. We must rid our own national—and local—administration of those who want to see the plunder and subjugation of Europe, instead of its restoration to health and real freedom, before we can hope to solve the Polish question.

WHAT TO DO

What to do for Poland comes right down to this: What are we going to do in Connecticut, and New York, and every other State in the Nation? Until we have answered this, the big question—propounded by President Roosevelt at the time of Russia's invasion of Finland, "Shall the world endure, can it endure, half slave and half free?" will remain unanswered. Until we accept the fact that political freedom everywhere is essential to world peace, and without it economic freedom is pure poppycock, since any political dictator can always sweep away economic freedom with firing squads, we shall never understand either the nature of political or eco-

conomic freedom or the organization of world peace.

The battle for world political freedom begins right at home. It must start with our determination that the majority will not tolerate dictation from any group, or any person who asks them—for any reason whatsoever—to act, or to permit acts, against our conscience and against the interests of world peace, and we must impress this view upon those who represent us in UN.

During the past three years all of us can recall a number of such actions. Nowadays, whenever we complain that American power is being used in Europe to do something at which we instinctively revolt, the excuse usually is given that: "It was agreed to at the Yalta, or the Teheran, or Potsdam Conference."

Such an excuse, posing as it does acceptance of secret agreements which have never been either seen or agreed to by our Senate, has no validity to a self-governing people. It is a specious reason, given to conceal facts which those who committed them are afraid to reveal. We still do not know what was promised at Yalta, or Teheran, or Potsdam.

But we have all seen the results of those agreements. Some of them are tragic, and we know now that in most cases they were neither inevitable nor necessary.

One specific case is the question of the heroic Polish Army, which is to-

day a homeless and bewildered band of heroes. The records of the First and Second Polish Corps are known to every American and British soldier and airman who served in the ETO. Many hundreds of Anglo-Americans owe their lives to the sacrifice of their Polish companions-in-arms. Our GI's are well aware of this. They see neither sense nor justice in any political chicanery or cowardice that deprives such men of the basic freedom they fought for. It was as spokesman for such American combat veterans that Gen. John C. H. Lee, commander of our forces in the Mediterranean, recently demanded a haven be given General Anders' veterans in the United States. But General Lee was not the first American to make this demand.

You may remember that a year ago last February, when the results of the Yalta Conference on Poland were first revealed, I introduced in Congress House Joint Resolution 110, a resolution to admit, without quota, Poles who had served with Polish armed forces under Allied command outside of Poland, if they objected to forcible repatriation in Soviet-controlled Poland—a repatriation which would constitute for most of them death warrants.

Since then I have introduced House Concurrent Resolution 143, a resolution asking that stateless persons be granted cards of identity by the United Nations, permitting them

to live and to work abroad as self-respecting human beings during the reconstruction period while their natural homelands are under alien and hostile political control.

Most of you know that these efforts have so far been without tangible result. That does not mean they have failed. It means only that there has not been enough publicity given to the evils they are designed to overcome.

Publicity, in the sense of the unhampered flow of factual news, is our greatest political weapon. It was no accident that censorship has been clamped down in Iran.

Nor was it an accident that almost at the same time Professor Lange was picked to accuse Spain in the name of Poland.

Diversion, confusion and censorship, these are the tried and true weapons of dictatorship. We witnessed these techniques during a quarter century of Mussolini and a decade and a half of Hitler.

THE IRON CURTAIN

The iron curtain falls over Iran, Poland, eastern Europe, and to divert the critics their attention is called to another area of the world—and Poland accuses Spain. The people of Spain and Poland are two of the most devoutly religious peoples in the world. Likewise, in both of them individualism has been a characteristic carried almost to extremes. No

peoples have, of their own initiative, shown less interest in atheistic, communistic forms of government and life than have these two.

Yet, here we have Professor Lange using the name of Poland to indict the Spanish people. Not just their temporary dictator, Franco, and his Fascist system, which all of us dislike intensely and would willingly have exchanged for true democracy. Professor Lange was not voicing the convictions of men and women he personally heard talking of Spain on the rubble heaps of heroic Warsaw, or in the cathedral of Cracow, or Czeszochowa, for he was not there. Professor Lange has only spent a few hours in Poland during the past seven years. No, what Professor Lange mouthed were words taught him by men who are not Poles, do not think like Poles, and who, God knows, do not pray like Poles for Poland. His purpose and his mission from Moscow was to confuse the issue, not only in Spain and in Poland, but in the mind of every citizen of every freedom-loving nation which demands the right to worship God, and to choose its own form of government, without meddling, interference and cruel pressure from other unfriendly nations.

It is this technique of confusing the issue which most greatly concerns us, because every such attempt, by just so much, beclouds our recognition of our true responsibilities and interests. None of us alone has power to

undo all the wrong that has been done by various dictators and leaders, during the past twenty years. But all of us have it in our power to try to sift out truth from falsehood; to support those men and women in office who tell the truth, without subterfuge or doubletalk, and who are not afraid to tell it, though it may cost them votes, and submit them to violent abuses.

Having the power, it is our duty to our conscience, to our country and the world, to speak out ourselves on every possible occasion, challenging those who want us to believe their lies; applauding those who try to point out the truth.

Never in one generation has the human race lost so much of the stored-up results of human effort.

The destruction which covers most of Europe and great areas of Asia is an inducement to many to appeasement at any price. But that is exactly what it should not be. It should be viewed for what it is: a terrible lesson to nations strong and weak, of the cruel evils that come of appeasing evil, until it is too late.

Here in America, where up to now we have no ruined cities, we may do well to recall the ancient warning: "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

The problem of world peace under liberty is largely America's problem. Its solution must be found here first. So it is not as people of Polish descent

only that I speak to you, but as Americans.

Poland's freedom depends upon the establishment of freedom throughout the world. We all know that only by American help can such universal freedom be established. We should have learned that fact by now. Certainly the lessons taught us by the threat of Nazi tyranny should not so soon have been forgotten here.

They have not been forgotten in Poland. Indeed, all Europe has finally begun to realize, in a way we here can only perceive dimly, that freedom is indivisible. Over there they know, as we should know, that tyranny was not a Nazi invention, nor has it vanished with the destruction of the Axis.

Freedom's greatest ally is the truth. Men who dare to speak the truth take the first and longest step toward freedom. That is why we should welcome every effort to obtain the truth about conditions under which our fellowmen live in every country. That is why we will welcome from the UNO a true report on Franco's Spain. It will inform us whether the Spanish people have the strength or the desire after their ordeal of civil devastation, to mount an assault against any other nation in the world. We would welcome like reports on what is really going on in Poland, in the Balkans, in Hungary, in Yugoslavia, in Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania—indeed; and how greatly we would welcome a true

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report of what is going on behind that iron curtain in all the Soviet Russias. Only when we know and accept the truth about conditions in all these places shall we be able to take striding steps toward peace and security. On that day we will find the answer to the ancient prayer carved into the pedestal of Lwow's patron saint:

"Cause it to come to pass that our towns and villages and homes shall not go up in flames, that our churches shall not be destroyed, nor the fruits of our hands ravaged, that no one shall drive us out in foreign and unknown lands."

It is for that day Poles work and hope in Poland, in Italy, in Scotland; it is for that day we must work here. It will come.

It will come, for the world must have peace, if civilization is not to be destroyed in a rain of atomic bombs.

But I have just said that the price of peace is first the willingness to face the facts, and the courage to state the truth. What is the central truth of the world situation today? It is this, that peace for the world depends primarily on American-Anglo-Russian relations. And the Russians themselves tirelessly assert the fact that unless we can win their friendship, war, revolution and all the spiritual and material miseries of widespread political disorder throughout the world will be inevitable.

What then do the Russians expect us to do to gain their friendship? This is certainly the most important question in the world today.

The New York *Times* of yesterday carried an interview with Jan Stanczyk, Minister of Labor of the present Polish Government. Said Mr. Stanczyk: "It would be better for Poland and the world if Russia were not so suspicious of the western powers." The price of Russia's friendship was, he said that "The western powers have to make every effort to remove Soviet suspicions. * * *

Everyone who realizes the danger of the growing tension between the Soviet Union and the western powers must be eager to remove Soviet suspicions.

Can this be done? Of course it can.

REMOVING SOVIET SUSPICIONS

Ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you the policy that this Nation could adopt which would beyond any shadow of doubt remove all Russian suspicions and guarantee Russian friendship to us for fifty or a hundred years.

If we will recall all our occupation armies from Europe and Asia, and if we will cease, at the same time, to take any note of the fact that Russia, however, is maintaining vast armies in central Europe, grazing them like hordes of ravenous cattle on the lands of the peasants, so that they munch, munch, munch their

way across half of Europe; we would then be taking one step toward lulling Russian suspicions. A number of others would still be necessary: If we will cease to press for fair and open elections anywhere; if we will agree to the forcible repatriation of any of the nationals of Russian-dominated areas; if we will agree at the peace table to the demands of Stalin's puppet, Tito, for Trieste, and aid Russia in the despoliation of Italy, forcing Italy, which was a co-belligerent of ours, to pay huge reparations to Russia; if we will give Russia part of Italy's fleet; if we will make the Baltic and the Black Sea Russian lakes, and thus place the Rumanians and Greeks and Turks under the comradely protection of the Soviets; if we will drop forever the Iranian question and allow the Russians to fortify the Dardenelles, and give them a mandate over Tripolitania; if we will gracefully accept every territorial change already accomplished by Soviet arms around the world, and accept all further changes suggested by them, while making no mention ever again of the Atlantic Charter which swore that no such changes could be accepted that were not in accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned—why then, ladies and gentlemen, we will have taken many forward steps in removing Russian suspicions.

But candor requires me to state,

still not enough completely to win Soviet friendship. There are many more things we would still have to do before Russian suspicion—which is really very deep rooted, could be extirpated. But if we use sanctions, and arms if necessary to overthrow Franco, and encourage the substitution of a Communist regime in Spain, if we applaud in our press and in our Congress the rise of every Communist government in Europe, making no rude or uncomradely mention of the shooting, purges, torture and deportations into Siberia of all those who resist such rising governments; if after encouraging the looting of German industry in Soviet areas, while we feed and supply the people, if we then aid and abet the rise of a strong, armed Communist Germany subservient to Moscow—I feel, I can assure you that we would then almost have won Soviet Russia's friendship.

Almost, but not entirely. For, after all, Russia is suspicious of us in the Orient as well: There, if only we will accept the pillaging of Manchuria as an accomplished fact, and withdraw our support from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and extend it to the Chinese Communists, of whom Moscow is not at all suspicious—we will be nearing our goal. But I fear Russia's increased liking for us would not really mellow into trust with General MacArthur on the scene in Tokyo. But if we would only recall General MacArthur from

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Tokyo, and let "natural democratic forces," that is to say, Communist forces, rise—as no doubt they would in Japan and Korea—after the usual period of bloodshed and confusion—we would at long last be on the threshold of a real friendship with our gallant Soviet allies.

But still only the threshold, mind you. For Soviet Russia is suspicious of us right here in America! But if we will condemn publicly, and defeat at the polls, every American candidate for office who disputes the wisdom of any of these reasonable gestures of friendship; if we will call a reactionary or a Fascist anyone in American public life who talks of the rights of the little nations, or speaks up for free Baltic states, for a free Central Europe, for a liberal Germany and Italy and Japan, for a free world press or world communications, we will have all but clinched our friendship. All but. For mind you, ladies and gentlemen, the Soviets are really very, very, very suspicious. There are in addition to the above several other important things which would be required of us before we can bask in the full light of Soviet affections: We must hasten to give Russia large sums of money in order that she may consolidate this position of domination over all of Asia and three-fourths of Europe; and above all, we must give Russia the atomic bomb, and then lest we sow new seeds of suspicion

in this fresh plowed soil of friendship, we must hasten to show them how to manufacture and if necessary, use it.

For this is the price of Soviet friendship; the complete abandonment of all our other allies in Europe and Asia, above all the Poles and the British; and our swift return to isolation. But not, mind you, armed isolation, for who shall deny that Russia might still continue to be suspicious if we keep a large army, navy and air force? No, in order that Russia may feel quite secure, we would be expected to disarm completely. American isolation and pacifism—complete and abject—that is the real recipe for American-Soviet friendship.

OUR BELIEF IN GOD

But their finest recipe may fall flat unless it is in the end seasoned to taste. Perhaps more than all these things put together there remains one circumstance of our American way of life which makes our Communist comrades suspicious of us. That is, my friends, our adherence to a belief in God. Karl Marx, the great founder of communism, called religion the opiate of the people. And he wrote, "For liberal democracy, that illusion, that dream of Christianity, which says that man has a sovereign soul" and "holds that not one man alone, but each man has a value as sovereign being" is utterly and piti-

lessly opposed by communism, which is anti-religious, anti-Christ and anti-God.

In order to remove that most deep-rooted of Soviet suspicions, in the end we must show a reasonable willingness to desert our altars, our churches, our God.

THE RED FLAG

And when we have adopted all the policies I have outlined above, then, my friends, the Soviets will love us well, and draw very close to us. Oh, very, very, very close! Some Communists go so far as to say that they would even draw so close in the course of time thereafter that their love for us would make them yearn to be, in the end, one with us, so that we might all live in a comradely fashion under the one Red flag of the world of Soviet Republics.

And yet, I think that you will agree with me here today that such a program is somehow inconsistent with American ideals, and American self-interest. There must be some other answer. I believe that there is some other answer. The answer is for this Nation, and all the other nations of the world who signed the Atlantic Charter, to begin now to live up to the promises of that Charter to the peoples of Europe and Asia and to do what is necessary to imple-

ment those promises. The answer is to begin now to put an end to the appeasement of economic and ideological aggression now proceeding around the whole globe which can only wind up in another terrible war. This would be as ruinous for the enslaved and unhappy Russian people as it is for us. In my opinion, the way to win the friendship of Russia is to show that we mean liberty when we say it. For respect is the foundation of friendship.

Firmness, vigilance, patience, candor and preparedness now, coupled with a vigorous program for the physical and economic rehabilitation of Europe and Asia will win the day.

We want only men of vision, courage, determination. Perhaps what we want most in high places in Washington is a mere handful of such men as defended Warsaw. We will find them. For the world is hungry for courageous leadership. You will help—you are helping here today, in dedicating this Polish-American Congress to those cherished principles of liberty for which Poland fought longest and hardest, and suffered most.

We shall, we Americans, stand by those who believe as we do—in the cause of liberty under law—in the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God!

THE EDITORIAL MIND

Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools

PROTESTANT journals, for example the *Christian Century*, writhe as though possessed at the suggestion that Federal aid be given to non-public schools. They object in the name of the principle of separation of Church and State. Of course, that is not the real reason. They know that this aid would be given in large measure to Catholic schools, which happen to be the most numerous non-public schools.

That Catholics are victims of double taxation, by paying taxes to support the public schools, and then maintaining their own school system, is of little concern to these "broad-minded" citizens who adopt the noble attitude that if Catholic consciences are so sensitive on the subject of religion in education, they should pay the bill in full.

Back of the opposition to Catholic schools is the assumption that parents have no right to choose a school for their children, or the ill-bred intolerance which accepts as Americans only those children who attend public schools.

With justifiable pride, news re-

ports announce that freedom of education in Japan has been assured by General MacArthur. What does freedom of education mean if not the right of parents to choose the school their children shall attend?

State aid to non-governmental schools is not synonymous with an established church, but part of the State's function to provide for the welfare of *all* its citizens.

Far from being out of step with American traditions, minority schools are demanded by the American Way of Life, for in our democracy the majority rules without the minorities losing their identity.

Just what must Catholics do in this country to prove their loyalty and their Americanism? Let's be honest and admit that full religious liberty in the United States is reserved to the majority.

Efforts are being made to organize opposition so that Catholic schools will not benefit should a law be passed allowing the Federal Treasury to allot funds to equalize educational opportunities in the various States. The objective is to extend the benefits of education to all. But this objective is immediately defeated if exception is made of private schools.

State boards of education are justified in establishing standards to which private schools should conform. But once these standards are met and proof is given that the private school prepares its graduates to take up the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship, the State has no further complaint.

The Federal Government made no distinction between Catholic, State or secular college in setting up its training programs for the armed services. What was done here in the name of the national security should be imitated in the allocation of funds to private schools.

There is little danger of the State being gobbled up by the Church because the benefits of citizenship are granted to *all* Americans, irrespective of creed.—*THE CATHOLIC MIRROR, Springfield, Mass., January, 1946.*

Extra Slice Is Great Help

THAT extra slice of bread or a bit of pastry that we could eat but do not need may seem a trifle to us. But given to famine relief, it may become the means of saving the life of a starving person in a war-stricken land.

Clinton P. Anderson, secretary of agriculture, makes this estimate:

If each of the 133 million persons in this country exclusive of infants should contribute just one slice of bread a day by not eating it, the saving would supply the daily bread ration for about

NINE MILLION HUNGRY PERSONS abroad. A minimum saving by 15 Americans will sustain the life of one person in a famine area.

By joining in the food-saving campaign we aid ourselves as well as stricken fellowmen. We practice charity, which merits God's blessing. We promote world peace and curb Communism.

Our victory with guns and bombs won us an opportunity to build solid foundations for lasting peace. Hunger abroad threatens to thwart that opportunity, to nullify our sacrifice in lives and treasure.

Famine also threatens to make Red Fascism triumphant.

We can curb these evils with food that we do not need. With a little saving in bread and other foods we can build for peace and strengthen starving people's hope for freedom.—*The MICHIGAN CATHOLIC, Detroit, Mich., May 16, 1946.*

The Catechism

"THE Catechism is a little booklet which presents life under the threefold aspect: God—Family—Country. Without distinction of great or small, it teaches each one his duties, provides for human problems a sure, simple and profound solution, spreads the life of man between his beginning and his last end, and between these two focal points, sets and orientates the brief period

of mortal life. This was the plan given to human life by man's Creator."

This simple, but forceful tribute to the real meaning and power of that primer of the Faith, the catechism, was given by His Excellency, Archbishop Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States at the Hawaiian Church centennial.

This timely message has a great deal of food for thought, especially during current times when influences are at work to draw mankind away from the traditional Christian teaching. The primary elements and the foundations of Christian belief are all embodied in that small booklet, so familiar to childhood, but so often forgotten in adulthood. In it we can find, in simple language, besides the rudiments of our religion, the basis of the Christian concept of life, society and government. It is a compendium of the Catholic Faith.

There are two practical points to be noted as the result of the Apostolic Delegate's beautiful tribute to the catechism. One is the importance of parental obligation in seeing that their children give proper study to this important booklet, because it means so much to the future spiritual welfare of their children, and to a great extent to the attitude that they will adopt in their life in the world as citizens. The other is for adults to use the catechism as a catechetical review, so to say, by reading carefully

through its pages, a few of them at a time, and thinking over the answers they will find there.

We all need such a "refresher course" as we grow up, especially nowadays when everything about us tends to draw us away from God and His Church, and His way of life.—CATHOLIC ACTION OF THE SOUTH, *New Orleans, La., May 16, 1946.*

No Children Wanted

DISCRIMINATION against children is one of the perversions of our civilization. The discrimination presents itself in various phases, from disciples of Sanger barring their entrance into life, to landlords banning them from a place to live.

To meet this latter abuse the New York State Legislature has passed a bill making it a misdemeanor to include in any dwelling lease a clause requiring tenants to remain childless while occupying the apartment during the period of the lease. The bill, sponsored by Assemblyman Lewis W. Oliffe, is before the Governor for signature.

There is a moral urgency to put a stop to this undermining of family life. Barred from better living quarters, because of children, a couple is pushed into the dilemma of seeking a less desirable house or culpably breaking the law of God and nature in their family duties. When property priv-

ileges are given precedence over human rights, the nation is on the road to paganism and decay.

Then too it is futile to devise new schemes to offset or cure juvenile delinquency when, more and more, families with children are being forced to accept living accommodations in houses and areas far below the standards which their means and station would permit.

Inadequate housing is a pressing problem today. But it is temporary and will pass, as proposed building programs materialize. But refusing rentals because of children, is a problem that digs into the moral foundations of family life and the progress and security of America.

The Oliffe bill merits immediate signing by the Governor and strict enforcement of its provisions by authorities. (*Governor Dewey signed the bill on April 20.*—EDITOR).—THE EVANGELIST, *Albany, N. Y.*, March 29, 1946.

Catholic Societies

THE activity season of many Catholic societies is drawing to a close. With the approach of summer, attendance and interest at monthly meetings begin to fall off. It is a proper time for officers and members to check over the past year's effort. In the life of an organization,

as in the life of an individual, there is no standing still; there is either progress or retrogression.

These questions might produce alarming answers. Has the society you belong to attracted a respectable number of members to its meetings? Was an effort made to gain new members? Were attractive programs offered? Were speakers chosen who could speak on current problems and give the Church's position on them? Or, did they talk on subjects that left the members no better informed on Catholic topics? Were the spiritual aims of the society properly emphasized—the sanctification of the individual? Or, was the success of the year's activities judged by the amount of money raised?

If the parish society to which you belong does not rate too highly, not all the blame can be placed on the officers. Each member has an obligation to contribute his or her share to the bettering of the group. One effective way to achieve this is by selecting capable officers—people who are above the average in their knowledge and appreciation of their religion, who realize the importance of providing leadership which will stimulate members into fuller Christian living. Do your part by choosing that type of officers and then cooperate.—CATHOLIC HERALD CITIZEN, *Milwaukee, Wisc.*, May 18, 1946.

Weapon of the Printed Word

JOACHIM V. BENSON, M.S.S.T.

*Reprinted from The MISSIONARY SERVANT**

EVEN in spite of the radio and other means of communication the press has lost none of its power to mold public opinion. This was demonstrated recently when a strike in New York City prevented delivery of the metropolitan newspapers. Individuals by the thousands stood in line outside of publishing houses to get their papers. And it is a fact that leaders of the world in every land are paying attention to the written word as never before.

Napoleon's reported complaint that three hostile newspapers were more to be feared than a thousand bayonets has taken on added meaning today. The speed and facility with which the printed word is sent out in this age mobilize opinion and arouse action before an army can begin to march. The actual figures are not at hand but a rough estimate would indicate that in the United States there are about 6,000 weekly magazines and newspapers with a total average circulation of about 50,000,000. Monthly magazines number approximately 1,500 with a circulation of about 120,000,000. The circle of influence of these publications is of course far wider since each one counts several readers for every buyer.

Just as food nourishes the body, the printed word is an important vitamin in our mental diet. It influences our actions for good or for evil. The secular press does not pretend to treat extensively of religious matters, and, alas, many of its writers have little concern with the moral aspect of what they write. However, the fact above all other facts remains—that a high percentage of this secular output comes into the hands of Catholics and must of necessity affect their Faith. It is reasonable to suspect that a great part of the leakage from the Faith may be traced to this source. What is to supplement and correct statements in the secular press? It is clear that the printed word must be met by the printed word.

When those who assail the Church, lie about her history and doctrine, mislead and confuse her children by the errors which flow from clever pens, desist from their attacks, then, perhaps, we too may reduce our output and turn our energies to other pressing problems.

A strange and unwelcome tribute has been paid to the Catholic Press by its enemies in many lands. Fearing its influence, which after all is but a trickle compared to the steady flow

* Box 266, Stirling, N. J., February, 1946

from the secular press, the powers in these countries have embarrassed, then muzzled and finally silenced Catholic publications. In so doing they have purposely deprived the Church of an acknowledged instrument for informing and unifying Catholic opinion, and for strengthening our opinion against those who attack us. The very advances by which science has linked up the world for the astonishingly rapid dissemination of news, have also made it possible for misinformation and error to be spread with equal speed. Whether we wish it or not we are forced into the field of the press to instruct, to interpret and to defend the heritage of Faith.

CATHOLIC PRESS AND THE POPES

An encouraging and welcome tribute has been paid to the Catholic Press by one Pope after another down to our present reigning Pontiff. Notable among these are the words of Pius X. "In vain will you build churches, preach missions, found schools; all of your good works, all your efforts will be destroyed, if you cannot at the same time wield the defensive and offensive weapons of a press that is Catholic, loyal and sincere."

It is not always possible in our churches today to give a sufficient instruction to our people. The rapid succession of Masses in large parishes prevents this. To meet the need, many parishes have special lectures, study clubs and private instruction classes.

With it all it is not enough. There can never be too much instruction. But even supposing that every week it were possible to give our people all that is required in the way of indoctrination. What about the vast numbers who do not belong to any church, and those outside the fold who have no way to learn the message of Truth which the Church guards? Upon the Catholic Press devolves the task of publicly defending the truths of religion so bitterly attacked by those who would be rid of Christ and by those who in ignorance believe that they have found another way of life, however opposed to His Way.

This challenge and this duty combine to offer a problem that is not easy of solution. The resources that subsidize the secular press are not at our disposal. Besides, many of our publications, without wide circulation or the revenue from advertisements, are attempting to support some worthy Catholic work. On the other hand, Catholic editors have a freedom of expression which many editors who are financially obligated do not enjoy. I am reminded here of a noted writer who as a non-Catholic contributed columns and did special reporting for several leftist newspapers some years ago. One of the contributing reasons which led him to seek the Truth in the Catholic Church and to final conversion, was the fact that he could not write what he actually saw or heard and knew to be true—he had to write

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In justice it must be said that there are many writers today who give to their columns and reporting a moral tone that is equal and in some instances far superior to their colleagues of former years. There are some non-Catholic writers notable for their honesty in defending the cause of the Church and of religion. But for the most part the reporting in the general run of secular publications caters to what the people want. They give them what they want. Thus they appeal. The Catholic Press cannot appeal in this same sense. Many things which fallen human nature may want is not to its advantage either in this life or the next. Much of it is sensationalism. Much of it is error. Pius XII cautioned American journalists against this recently when he said: "That in the rush of routine daily work, a writer should let error slip into his writing; that he should accept information without sufficiently verifying the source; that he may even give expression to a judgment that is unfair, may often be due to carelessness rather than bad will. Yet he should realize that such carelessness and such heedlessness, especially in times of great crises, may too easily have serious consequences."

The Catholic Press can never appeal at the expense of Truth. There are many things about Catholic doctrine and morals which are not palatable to

men who think in terms of this world. But the presentation of Catholic Truth through the medium of the press does include the style of the written word itself and the physical make up of the paper or periodical in which it appears. The thought is ever before us that those to whom we appeal for support are used to reading the finished products of the secular press. They take for granted that Catholic editors have sufficient training and initiative to profit by the advances made in the printing industry. For the most part they have little or no knowledge of the cost of printing in these times, but nevertheless they expect the best in appearance from their Catholic papers. And a slovenly job not only cancels their interest but often begets antagonism toward all religious publications.

These are obstacles which Catholic journalists have strenuously tried to overcome by the training of men, by organizations and by open criticism which found a new outlet recently in a worthy and constructive publication, *The Catholic Journalist*. There has been much advance. Worthy of great praise are those pioneer Catholic journalists who paved the way for today's publications in the face of tremendous odds.

But we are not and cannot be content. In practical cooperation on the part of readers, particularly of priests who influence their people, lies the hope of expansion without which the

Catholic Press can never have the influence it should enjoy. Growth of the Catholic Press is not merely a matter of dollars and cents. The matter of circulation is one which touches on the very *reason* for the existence of the Catholic Press. The most important message in the world, produced as a masterpiece both in style and artistic make-up, is useless unless it reaches those for whom it is intended. So that if the seemingly impossible were to happen—if the Catholic Press were magnificently subsidized, we should still be derelict in our duty if we did not attempt to increase circulation to the utmost.

GETTING NEW READERS

Catholic journalists at the very least are auxiliaries to those who teach and preach the word of God. While it is true that there must be publications in the Catholic field, just as in the secular field, whose appeal is definitely limited to a special class, yet where Truth is concerned we cannot rest with a confined group of readers. The greater number of Catholic papers and magazines have a general reader interest.

And so it is necessary, while endeavoring to expand in all directions, to concentrate on the assistance of those who are actually reading the publications. It is a matter of simple addition that if every subscriber gets one new subscriber the circulation is doubled. Each reader—you who read

these lines—can reach many possible new readers whom the editorial staff will never personally contact.

Perhaps you have never considered that. Perhaps, even, you have never given any thought to the Catholic Press. You would indeed if you lived in those lands in which it was abolished by governmental order. Perhaps you don't realize that the written word has been instrumental in saving many souls, that one isolated item in the Catholic Press has brought back a wandering soul, or has begun the search for Truth to one outside the Church. If we thought about it enough, the zeal of those who day after day endeavor to spread the written word of other publications inimical to the Church, would put us to shame. Or maybe you feel in spite of all this that you have your own diocesan newspaper and that that is enough. Your own diocesan newspaper comes first. If that is all you could really afford we would say to have it before all others. But no intelligent man or woman would confine his secular reading to one newspaper or one columnist. No intelligent advertiser would determine to use one paper to the exclusion of all others. And no intelligent person, Catholic or non-Catholic, would believe that he could obtain all that is needed to know about the Church, about the attitude of the Church on public questions, by reading one Catholic paper or magazine.

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differences of opinion on certain current affairs among Catholic writers. But nowhere in any truly Catholic publication will you find contradiction in that which concerns Truth in the matter of Faith or morals. The real Catholic journalist recognizes his obligations. He is reminded of his power when he considers the words of Pius XI: "Words are a force which can move souls and dominate everything. What can one say of 'words' so powerful in themselves, what can one say when they are conveyed by that organization, that dynamism of multiplication and confusion? It is the 'almightiness' multiplying itself out of all measures—what a tremendous responsibility is the press responsibility since it disposes such power."

The Catholic journalist endeavors to teach the truth and by teaching the

truth to promote the cause of peace so earnestly desired by the people of God. In his efforts he needs the cooperation of all interested in truth. And in his efforts in these days he has before him the further exhortation of Pius XII given to a group of American journalists in Vatican City last summer: "A lying tongue, like hands that shed innocent blood, the Lord hateth; and every man detests a lying word. Calumny is quick-footed, as you know, especially be it said, for shame, when it is directed against religion and the champions of the sterner demands of Christian morals. . . . Members of the profession who do not hesitate to smear their pages or pollute the ether with falsehood are rendering a great disservice to their fellow men—(they) gravely imperil peace among nations."



Mess in Germany

Even under favorable conditions, military occupation presents tremendous difficulties. The actual conditions under which American military occupation has to take place in Germany, are, however, the worst conceivable. This is not merely the result of the suicidal stand taken by the Nazis, but also of the Four-Power split of the occupied territory and the lack of agreement on political fundamentals among the occupying powers. Under such circumstances the danger of total collapse of administrative devices and of all economic and social functions of the defeated nation is very great, to the mounting embarrassment of the Armies of Occupation.—*Friedrich Baerwald in THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, March, 1946.*

After-War Africa

BY THE EDITORS OF "THE SHIELD"*

EVENTS and developments in Africa during the past few years have given the first flicker of hope that this great country, which once gave to the Church some of her greatest thinkers—Saint Clement, Saint Cyril, Saint Athanasius, and Saint Augustine—may once again move back to a place of prominence in the Catholic world. But this time, the movement is not so likely to start in North Africa, as it did in the apostolic days. The northern regions are now largely strongholds of Mohammedanism, though there are still flourishing Catholic churches in the countries bordering the Mediterranean. The present revival of the Church in Africa seems rather to be starting in the central and southern regions.

The brightest spark of the new-born hope was struck with the opening of the Catholic "University College" at Roma in Basutoland last April. This institution, organized under the direction of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, is not a university yet, but it is a college that is designed to be a part of a university.

Basutoland is a small section in South Africa, almost entirely native. Its population is 700,000, living on an area only one hundred miles

square, which, according to South African laws, is regarded as a "reservation." It is rather barren country, and the Basutos make their living principally by raising cattle. They are an intelligent and progressive people and seem to have the necessary fundamentals for developing the right kind of independent and democratic spirit as a national or racial group. This latter fact was demonstrated when 63,000 Basuto men volunteered for service with the Allies in the recent war.

The establishing of this university in Basutoland has a special significance, because the country is under the control of Great Britain, and the British at the present time seem inclined to encourage the education of native African leaders.

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate are a strong missionary order, with their largest sources of manpower in Canada and France. It happens, however, that the Bishop of Basutoland, the Most Reverend Joseph Bonhomme, O.M.I., though a Canadian by birth, spent most of his life in the United States. His outlook is quite that of the U.S.A., and it is expected that the Oblates of this country will continue to increase their forces in

* The Crusade Castle, Shattuc Ave., Cincinnati 26, Ohio, February, 1946

all of the South African countries.

Possibly the next most important step in the new educational development of Africa will be taken in the West. Here the British Government is promoting its educational program with special intensity. The Government is determined to give a liberal education to as many young West Africans as possible in the next twenty years. Behind this determination seems to be the honest desire to make the people capable of self-rule and to prevent their domination by one man or a few men who have had the benefits of advanced education.

In launching this program, the British Government has let it be known that it will rely upon missionary organizations to build and staff many of the schools. The British Government, it will be recalled, has long made it a practice to subsidize schools in Africa as well as in India. These subsidies, while by no means sufficient for the maintenance of the schools, at least give them the status of official recognition in the government, which is more than can be said of the Catholic schools in our own United States.

On the scene in West Africa are American members of the Society of the Divine Word, under the direction of Monsignor Adolph Noser, S.V.D., Vicar Apostolic of Accra (pronounced "Ac-KRAW"). As far as West Africa is concerned, the future will belong to the missionary

forces who get there first. The Society of the Divine Word has set a splendid example in sending some of its best-trained men to this mission field, which has been under the care of the American Fathers for only five years. The mission was established with a personnel of eight priests, and by October, 1945, the number had been increased to only twelve, with two Brothers assisting. In spite of this very limited staff, the number of churches and schools in the region was more than doubled in the five years, and the number of pupils in the mission schools was more than trebled. The number of Catholics now residing in the mission is about 18,000, out of a total population of 700,000.

MISSION NEEDS

The great need of the Accra mission, as seen by Monsignor Noser, is an increase of teachers. These, he says, must be "not merely well trained, but highly trained." The schools that they will operate must be up-to-date and well equipped. Monsignor Noser hopes that a normal school for teachers can be built in the near future. The expense of these institutions is remarkably low, in comparison with general building costs in the United States at the present time. A Sisters' convent can be put up for about \$12,000, and a complete school for about twice that amount.

Next in order of importance, says

Monsignor Noser, is a training school for lay catechists. At present, catechists can be employed for about ten dollars a month, though the time is fast approaching when the monthly salary will have to be raised. Americans who are interested in promoting the Church in Africa and who do not feel able to endow one of the educational institutions, may make worthwhile contributions by adopting individual catechists. To make the adoption substantial, the contribution at the present time ought to average between \$150 and \$180 per year.

Third in order, though urgently needed, is a church building worthy of the Catholic name. Accra is the capital of the entire Gold Coast colony, and several Protestant churches have erected beautiful "cathedrals" in the city. The church of the Vicar Apostolic is a modest affair, but, putting first things first, Monsignor Noser believes that the schools must come before a new cathedral.

Throughout Africa, but more specially in the northern regions, the displacement of missionaries due to the war continues to be one of the most serious drawbacks to the apostolate. Many Italian and German missionaries in these regions were interned. As late as Christmas week, 1945, a Prefect Apostolic and twenty-nine priests, all members of the German Province of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, who had been missionaries in Africa, were still interned on

the Island of Jamaica, having spent their seventh successive Christmas behind barbed wires.

In the missions of the East Coast, each vicariate and prefecture was asked to send three priests to Abyssinia to replace interned Italian missionaries. Some of the American Holy Ghost Fathers who had been working in the Vicariate of Kilimanjaro moved into Abyssinia. One of these wrote recently that he and his confreres were laboring under great difficulties, including a prohibition against "proselytizing." This correspondent said that there were several Jesuit priests teaching in the schools of Abyssinia, but that they were obliged to conceal their identity under lay garb, and celebrate Mass only privately.

Bishop Joseph Byrne, Vicar Apostolic of Kilimanjaro, is temporary administrator of the German Benedictine Fathers' Mission of Lindi in East Africa, while another member of the Holy Ghost Congregation, Father Thomas Maguire, is administering the entire Vicariate of Pemahio.

Summarizing the outlook for the Holy Ghost Fathers, the Reverend Charles Connors, C.S.Sp., Mission Procurator of the United States Province (Washington, D. C.), lists the following as the principal difficulties, which probably apply to all the other missionary congregations at work in Africa:

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1) Lack of personnel. During the war, a number of missionaries died; and many others, exhausted by malnutrition and the general strain of overwork, must be given a rest as soon as possible. Shortage of shipping facilities continues, and new missionaries have not been able to get to the missions in large numbers. The Congregation of the Holy Ghost has at the present time about seventy missionaries in France, waiting for permission to sail for foreign missions. Their departure is hampered by governmental red tape, requiring that applications for sailing go first to the Prefecture of Police, where they are made the subject of examinations and lengthy inquiries; then to the Ministry of the Interior, from which, after about two months, the applications find their way to the Ministry of Colony. In this latter Bureau, the officials in charge of departures from the country draw up lists whenever a ship is ready to leave, notifying by telegram those who are supposed to embark.

The Netherlands Province of the Holy Ghost Congregation has put at the disposition of the superior general 104 priests and 16 Brothers, to be distributed among the different missions of the Congregation, a considerable number of them destined for Africa; but transportation difficulties are delaying the transfer of these men also.

2) The second difficulty is the

high wages being paid to workers in the mission countries. As a result, mission schools have lost a number of their teachers, who have gone to more popular centers to take government jobs.

3) Shortage of materials for building badly needed chapels, schools and other mission structures is quite critical. This condition, of course, is not peculiar to Africa.

In summing up the outlook for the Holy Ghost missions, however, Father Connors makes this remark: "It might seem, from all the pessimistic touches I have added to the picture, that the conditions are deplorable. Truth to tell, the progress made is amazing. To paraphrase Mr. Churchill: 'Never before have so few done so much with so little.'"

IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOLS

The importance of schools in the African missions was long ago proved by the tremendous missionary results obtained in Central Africa, particularly the Belgian Congo, Uganda and the territory known as the Mandate of Ruanda-Urundi. In the last-named territory, there were 121,000 conversions during the year ending June 30, 1937. This number in itself is notable, but its full meaning can be understood only when it is recalled that the Catholic population at the end of that year was only 1,760,000. It is doubtful that the percentage of conversions was equaled anywhere.

STATISTICS FOR AFRICA

Total population . . .	147,000,000
Catholics	7,000,000
Schismatic Christians . . .	3,000,000
Protestants	3,000,000
Mohammedans	44,000,000
Pagans	90,000,000

In the Belgian Congo and Ruandi-Urundi, there were 14,500 primary schools before the outbreak of the war, with an attendance of 554,000 children. In addition, there were 32 high schools, 37 normal schools for teachers, and 116 trade schools, all under the direction of Catholic missionaries.

In Central and Central-Eastern Africa, the work of the White Fathers has been notable. The members of this Congregation, between the years 1905 and 1936, increased the number of Catholic people in their mission areas by instruction and baptism, from 111,000 to 1,244,000. One of the strange developments resulting from the Second World War was the refuge given to exiled Polish Catholics by the missionaries in Uganda. One refugee camp, in the Vicariate of Ruwenzori, conducted by the White Fathers, provided for 3,600 persons.

The problem of the apostolate in Africa cannot be reduced merely to the building of schools, of course. In the North, there is the steady and

growing opposition of the Mohammedans, who are now engaging in active "missionary" work. In the South, there remain the difficult problems about the distribution of land and wages for native farmers.

The African National Congress, a large political party, demanded a re-allocation of the land that will be more just than the present distribution, under which only twelve and a half per cent of the surface area is given to eight million Africans, as compared to eighty-seven and a half per cent to about two million Europeans.

The importance of the educational program from now on, however, is understood by all of the Catholic forces that work in Africa. New religious orders have shown their willingness to make foundations on the African continent, and American branches of orders which were previously represented from other parts of the world have lately sent new members. Among these are the Society of Mary and the Xaverian Brothers.

Problems of health are still present in Africa. Malaria, black water fever, and other diseases common to tropical regions are still widely prevalent. However, there is hope that progress will be made in combating these diseases, particularly as far as white people are concerned, thanks to the investigations and discoveries made by the medical forces of the Allied armies

in Africa during World War II. The benefit of these discoveries will be extended to the native population also, though the natives in many cases seem to have a natural immunity to the diseases that make the most serious inroads into the white population.

The policy set by the missionary orders in the assignment of workers to Africa is one which must be continued: the Africa missions call for

the best, particularly in the educational work to be done. It is undoubtedly true, as Father Connors has observed, that probably in no other part of the mission world has so much been accomplished with so little. But the war is over now, and the time for boasting about big accomplishments with small resources should be past. It is to be hoped that Catholic America will take a large part in changing this situation.

The Mentally Ill

The vast majority of the patients in our public mental hospitals are both sick and in prison; and most of them have no one visiting them; and no one goes to them. For while in theory they are "patients," in practice they are prisoners, outlaws, outcasts and pariahs; still regarded by too many people as diabolically possessed, to be shunned, snubbed, maltreated, abused and disowned, and not infrequently denied relationship, and even acquaintance. However harsh or far-fetched and obsolete the above may sound to the uninitiated, it is the truth in too many cases, subconscious and unconscious though it may be. The very ones holding these unChristian, inhuman and unscientific concepts would loudly protest their innocence, and mostly in good faith; for they really believe they harbor no such notions; but more than twenty-five years experience with friends and relatives of the mentally afflicted proves the contrary.—*John Erit in HARLEM FRIENDSHIP HOUSE NEWS, March, 1946.*

Pioneer Social Catholics

DONALD R. CAMPION, S.J.

Reprinted from *The HISTORICAL BULLETIN**

AT the dawn of 1946, a world, wearied by six years of global strife, somewhat the wiser for its experience of suffering and social injustice from Adam to the atomic bomb, yet with a measure of hope (the perennial endowment of its young generation), lifted its skirts and set foot into a strange land. The year just gone gave clear signs that the new year might indeed mark the opening of a new era. Among these signs were: the completion of World War II, the development and first use of atomic energy, and the institution of a United Nations Organization. To American Catholics the last days of the old year brought an additional sign in the reorganization of the College of Cardinals of the Roman Church. With an eye to these events it may be well to recall the beginnings of a movement which has played an important role in American life during the past several decades, and that bids for a more dominant position in the new era. This is the Social Catholic movement in the United States.

To discover the sources, and at the same time to realize the vitality, of the Social Catholic movement, one must

consider the state of the Catholic Church in America prior to the formal beginnings of the movement. For Catholicism, the United States was still a mission country up to the turn of the present century. The last decade of the nineteenth century may be said to have witnessed the "growing pains" of the adult institution we now know. These "pains" may be clearly discerned in the struggle which divided the American hierarchy on a variety of issues.

In the controversies that raged within American ecclesiastical circles during the nineties, certain connecting threads are easily perceived. Temptation confronts one to oversimplify the scene by making convenient and exclusive divisions into "Progressives and Reactionaries" or "Radicals and Conservatives," as one's sympathies or prejudices incline. In the face of fuller evidence, however, this cannot be done. As has recently been pointed out, "the leaders in this notable controversy were nearly all capable, zealous men and victory or defeat on one side or the other need not imply in either group any moral delinquency or pastoral defect."¹ Moreover, though cer-

¹ Thomas T. McAvoy, "Americanism, Fact and Fiction," *The Catholic Historical Review*, XXXI (July, 1945), p. 134. Theodore Maynard has remarked, for example, on the generosity of Bishop McQuaid, despite his ferocity and occasionally unscrupulous methods. *The Story of American Catholicism* (New York, 1941). see p. 491.

* St. Louis University, St. Louis 3, Mo., March, 1946

tain members of the hierarchy were often drawn up on the same side of the line in different battles, the alliance was not constant. Attention has naturally been focused on the actions of a few vigorous personalities, but in most issues the average bishop had sympathy for both sides, while refraining from active participation in the controversy.

THE BISHOPS

If a "progressive" group among the bishops might be spoken of, its leaders would properly be Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, and Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore. In the history of Social Catholicism the spirit and influence of these two men were to extend down to the present day. On the other side might be listed, at least in some instances, such men as Archbishop Michael Corrigan of New York, Bishop Bernard McQuaid of Rochester, and several of the leading German bishops of the mid-West.

Between these men the bone of contention took various forms; at one time it was the Knights of Labor, whose papal condemnation was sought; again, it was the organization and support of the Catholic parochial school system; for a time, also, there was strong feeling over the efforts of

national groups to establish a national clergy; and a final issue was that of Dr. Edward McGlynn's action in supporting the Henry George single-tax reform, against the wishes of his ecclesiastical superior.

By the prompt action of Cardinal Gibbons, and with the aid of Cardinal Manning, the proposed condemnation of the Knights, as a secret society, was averted.² The school issue was somewhat settled by the papal rescript of *tolerari potest* in answer to a question on the legitimacy of a plan for state support inaugurated by Archbishop Ireland, and by the announcement of Archbishop Satolli. However, these answers were somewhat modified by later events.³ Cahensleyism, and associated disagreement among the bishops, were overcome by the vigilance of Gibbons, Ireland, and other leaders of Americanization.⁴ Dr. McGlynn's struggle with Archbishop Corrigan, who was strongly supported in his policy by Bishop McQuaid, met defeat in his suspension by the archbishop. On the other hand, Cardinal Gibbons, again with the aid of Cardinal Manning, prevented the condemnation of Henry George's doctrine. This action has come to be recognized as a far-sighted move that did

² Allen Sinclair Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore*, 2 vols. (New York, 1922), I, pp. 320-360. T. V. Powderly, *The Path I Trod*, (New York, 1940), pp. 49-53, 347-348. Frederick J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid*, 3 vols. (Rome and Louvain, 1925-1927), II, pp. 437-461. The Knights had previously been condemned by the Archbishop of Quebec, who opposed Gibbons' suit in Rome.

³ Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, III, pp. 160-198. Daniel F. Reilly, *The School Controversy* (1891-1893), (Washington, 1943). It has been pointed out that this book sometimes gives more authority to Ireland's position than the documents allow. Moreover, there is little consideration made in it of important subsequent statements from the Holy See, such as the encyclical letter *Divini Illius Magistri*, issued in 1929.

⁴ Will, *Gibbons*, II, p. 523. Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, II, pp. 378-437. Reilly, *School Controversy*, pp. 57-64.

much to save the laboring class for the Church in America.⁵ In the light of this struggle for and against a rapid Americanization of Catholic ways, and of an increased interest in social problems, the publication of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical letter, *Rerum Novarum*, in 1891, takes on a special significance.

"The pronouncements of Leo . . . were far from being isolated outbursts of a peculiarly voluble pontiff whose sense of social decency came as a shock to an apathetic hierarchy."⁶ Two years before *Rerum Novarum*, speaking at the first American Catholic Congress, convened in Baltimore, November 11 and 12, 1889, Archbishop Ireland had assured the assembled lay delegates that there was dawning a new era in the American Church and that the bishops would lead them in the work of Catholic action. Again, on October 18, 1893, he sounded the challenge to a crusade for social justice:

It is an age of battlings for social justice to all men. . . . We have, of late, been so accustomed to lock up our teachings in seminary and sanctuary that when they appear in active evolution in the broad arena of life they are not recognized by Catholics; nay, are even feared and disowned by them.⁷

The seed of this word was destined to fall on fertile ground. John A. Ryan, at the time a student in the St. Paul diocesan seminary, acknowledged that from it he derived information, inspiration and encouragement. Looking back over the role Dr. Ryan was to play in Social Catholicism in the United States, it is not too much to say that this marks a definite forward motion for the movement. To John Ryan credit must be given, if it may be given to any one man, as a chief agitator and one of the foremost leaders of the whole movement from its inception, down to his death in the fall of 1945.

With the venerable St. Louis Jesuit, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Husslein, encouraged and protected by a few far-seeing members of the American Catholic Hierarchy, although both of them were denounced by some fellow Catholics as "radicals" and later "Bolsheviks," he succeeded in converting the majority of Catholics from a provincial American conservatism on social questions to a progressive attitude that prepared the way for acceptance here of the advanced proposals adopted by the modern Popes in their social Encyclicals.⁸

As noted, Ryan was soon joined by a small band of Catholics who responded to the felt social necessities of

⁵ Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, III, pp. 1-83. Will, *Gibbons*, I, pp. 361-378. John A. Ryan, *Social Doctrine in Action*, (New York, 1941), p. 41. Several of the issues here touched upon have been briefly, though objectively, reviewed in the recent *History of the Archdiocese of Boston, 1604-1943*, by Robert H. Lord, John Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington, (New York, 1944), 3 vols., in the first section of the third volume. The incumbent of Boston at the time was Archbishop John J. Williams, a moderate, in contact with both sides in the question.

⁶ Emmett John Hughes, *The Church and the Liberal Society*, (Princeton, 1944), p. 215. On the other hand, as Pius XI wrote in *Quadragesimo Anno*: "(this teaching) quite novel to worldly ears, was looked upon with suspicion by some, even among Catholics, and gave offense to others."

⁷ John Ireland, *The Church and Modern Society*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1896; St. Paul, 1904), I, pp. 100-101.

⁸ *New York Times*, September 17, 1945. Obituary notice on death of Ryan.

the time. Notable among these were several who wrote for the national Catholic weekly, *America*. In 1912, Joseph Husslein, S. J., published a collection of essays explanatory of Christian principles on labor, property and other social questions. In this work he sounded once more the call to united Catholic social action.

Here is clearly the first and indispensable condition for success. The laborer and the poor must feel that our house is open to them, our heart is warm for them, our sympathy is eagerly enlisted in their cause.⁹

This call, though never fully answered, was to help avert from the Church in America the charge of callousness and indifference to social injustice that has been levelled against Catholic leaders in other lands.¹⁰

CATHOLIC ACTION

1917 found the United States formally participating in World War I. For the Catholic Church the challenge of wartime brought forth two great results. One was the breakdown of any lingering nationalistic barriers within the Church. German Catholics and Irish Catholics became united American Catholics, in the spring of 1917. And as a consequence of the war needs there developed in this country the core-organization of Cath-

olic Action, the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Prior to a consideration of the founding of N.C.W.C. and of its Social Action Department, in which we are especially interested, it is necessary briefly to recall the background of the American *magna charta* of the movement, the "Bishops' Program for Social Reconstruction," of 1919. The story of the drafting of the "Bishops' Program," as it came to be called, makes interesting reading. Dr. Ryan, its author, tells us that between February, 1918, and June, 1919, more than sixty programs of reconstruction were drawn up and published by prominent groups of persons in Italy, France, Great Britain and the United States.¹¹ By chance, a rough draft of proposals he had thought over in preparation for a talk, but had not used, was brought to the attention of the National Catholic War Council, by his friend, Rev. Dr. John O'Grady. The proposals were adopted by the administrative committee of the Council and published over the names of the committee members: Bishops Peter J. Muldoon, Joseph Schrembs, Patrick J. Hayes, and William T. Russell.

The effect of the program was immediate. As Ryan remarked, the proposals received more notice than any

⁹ Joseph Husslein, *The Church and Social Problems*, (New York, 1912), p. 207. It is significant that this book contains an essay on the "solidarism" theory, then newly proposed, of the social economist, Heinrich Pesch, S.J. This socio-economic philosophy is regarded as a prime source of the program for the reconstruction of the social order outlined in *Quadragesimo Anno*.

¹⁰ A remarkable exception is the lack of responsible Catholic reaction to the social injustices suffered by the Negro in America.

¹¹ Ryan, *Social Doctrine in Action*, pp. 143 ff.

of the other programs, and were praised by a wide variety of interested parties. Not all the attention paid it was favorable, however, and the epithet of "Socialistic" was hurled against it. In fact, a legislative committee in New York reported that:

A certain group in the Catholic Church with leanings toward Socialism, under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Ryan, professor at the Catholic University of Washington, issued in January, 1919, a pamphlet called "Social Reconstruction." . . . Where the socialistic tendency of the committee shows itself most clearly is in what is said under the heading of "Cooperation and Copartnership."¹²

But though the effect was immediate, it was not universal. Dr. Francis McMahon, a student in Catholic high school and college from 1919 to 1927, could not recall hearing of the "Bishops' Program" during all those years. It was not until after he had left college that his attention, and that of others, was brought to the work of men such as Bishop Muldoon of Rockford. The thinking of these latter was far in advance of the average Catholic social consciousness in this hey-day of capitalistic abandon.¹³

Note should be made here of an important contribution of Archbishop Schrembs to the cause of Social Catholicism. Due to an unfortunate misunderstanding occasioned by the mis-

givings of a few American Bishops about the juridical authority (non-existent) of the Conference, Pius XI, shortly after his election to the papacy, suppressed the organization. The majority of the bishops, realizing that it was a case of misunderstanding on Rome's part, selected Bishop Schrembs to represent the matter to the Holy See. This was done successfully and the Conference was reinstituted with papal blessing. The importance of this action has been pointed out by Archbishop John McNicholas, O.P.:

I am sure I express the mind of many Bishops and priests when I say that the services of Archbishop Schrembs on this occasion—his utter forgetfulness of self, his wholehearted dedication to the cause for which he pleaded, eloquently, patiently and dramatically—are among the most notable ever rendered by any Bishop of our Hierarchy to the Church.¹⁴

As Archbishop McNicholas further remarked, succeeding years proved the truth of Schrembs' argument for the Conference. "(Schrembs) was consoled to have the cause for which he so earnestly and heroically pleaded, not only vindicated, but wholeheartedly approved by two Supreme Pontiffs."

Despite its history of splendid achievements, the reception of the Social Action Department and its parent

¹² "Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, filed April 24, 1920, in the Senate of the State of New York," vol. I, p. 1139. This charge was still in circulation years later, and was employed by such writers as Elizabeth Dilling, *The Red Network*, (Chicago, 1935), p. 318.

¹³ Francis E. McMahon, *A Catholic Looks at the World*, (New York, 1945), p. 70.

¹⁴ In a sermon preached at funeral of Archbishop Schrembs, reported in *Catholic Action*, XXVII, December, 1945, pp. 14-15.

organization has not been uniform.¹⁵ Opposition, however, has been of little moment because the policies of the department have been sustained by papal writings and by the authority of successive episcopal chairmen: Bishops Muldoon, Thomas F. Lillis, Edwin V. O'Hara, and Karl J. Alter. In 1931, the publication of *Quadragesimo Anno* not only served as the impulse which forwarded and directed Social Catholicism into a more influential position, but as an *imprimatur* on the work of Ryan, McGowan and other leaders, and a confirmation of the policies adopted by the hierarchy of this country through the N.C.W.C. As Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the Catholic University at the time, remarked, "this (*Quadragesimo Anno*) is a great vindication for John Ryan."

With the year 1931 the tyro stage of Social Catholicism was definitely left behind. We have traced its beginnings in the troubled days when the American Church first found itself an adult institution. Under the stim-

ulus of social and economic disturbances, a few advanced churchmen were directed to a study of the social question. By the chance of war the movement came upon a measure of organization through the continuation of the National Catholic War Council in the present Welfare Conference of the bishops, and in particular through the establishment of the Social Action Department. Still, it was not until the early thirties that Social Catholicism of the American brand came into full growth. Vaguely conscious, for the most part, of their social mission, the publication of *Quadragesimo Anno* and the self-conscious beginnings of the "New Deal" in national policy gave an impulse to American Catholics. Under its influence they saw their way clear to carry forward the great projects in the fields of labor, rural life, and national or international social and economic policy that have made the American Church the social force that it had become by 1945.¹⁶

¹⁵ e.g. "Many businessmen in this country might with reason claim that the N.C.W.C. is the real traitor to our country, for they propose a series of changes in the method of governing this country which must inevitably result in the Fascism or Communism they seek to avoid." Letter to the Editor, *Commonweal*, XXIII, January 31, 1936, p. 381.

¹⁶ That the importance of N.C.W.C., the Social Action Department, and Catholic social policies, is recognised by those outside the Church was made clear by a significant series of articles in *The Christian Century*, of November 29, 1944, to January 17, 1945. Through eight articles Harold E. Fey asks the question: "Can Catholicism Win America?" Particularly in view of the effective organization provided by N.C.W.C., he concluded to a possible surrender by Protestant America to Catholicism.

Annual Wages

Again expressing my opinion I will say there will be no peace in labor relations until our present system of a daily and hourly wage is gotten away from.—*Senator Hatch, of New Mexico.*

Lenten Pastoral of Polish Bishops

A YEAR has elapsed since Poland by the will of God rose from the grave. Our fatherland is being reconstructed. Towns and villages are being rebuilt amidst ruins and devastation. Soldiers' graves and nameless tombs of murdered victims tell us of their faith and of their sacrifices. In desecrated churches God again is worshipped and praised. Parishes which were destroyed come to life again. Men and women wrenched from their birthplaces are settling in new communities. The Polish spirit and Catholic faith are reigning in the land of their forefathers. New families are founded. Life begins anew. There are no sacrifices that the people would refuse to make for the sake of the Fatherland, of the Church and of our State.

Times are difficult, however. The effects of war and slavery are deeply etched. National wealth was destroyed, postwar problems and lack of security are hampering economic progress. There is a general impoverishment. Because of the devastating war, we have in our country an acute housing problem, such as we have never had before. There is also the heart-rending problem of homeless people who are forced to move from one place to another on an unending trek.

We have entered with all other na-

The text of this Pastoral became available in this country only toward the end of April.

tions in the world upon the great work of reconstruction.

Deep and sudden changes have produced an atmosphere of unrest and anxiety. Many have lost their faith and are leading a lawless life. Anti-religious elements are taking advantage of the chaotic situation and have resumed a campaign against religion, using misleading slogans of progress and new order. The faithful are being tempted to abandon the Church. Numerous sects display a feverish activity.

Though many people have returned to God, and some of them are striving for sanctity, we cannot overlook the fact that evil forces are endeavoring to weaken the spirit of our nation and induce us to abandon the Church. It seems that the nearest future will decide whether Poland shall remain a Catholic Country.

Having all these factors in mind, Polish Bishops have decided to issue a Pastoral letter, on the occasion of Lent. We do not intend to tell the world that Catholicism in Poland is doomed because we are convinced that neither in Poland nor in other European countries can Christianity

be destroyed. We wish, however, to tell the truth and to warn you of dangers connected with the present situation. We should like to stir your souls that you may reform your lives, and that through a more zealous apostolic action our nation be prevented from losing its faith. We wish to remind Poland of her sacred mission and of the real Christian Order, which is the only solid base of universal happiness. "For other foundation no man can lay, but that which is laid: which is Christ Jesus." (1 Cor. 3, 11)

I

PRIMARY TASK

Our primary task in this historic era is to base the new life in Poland on a truly Christian spirit, which has its source in the Holy Gospel and whose pulpit is the Church. Regimes may and should change. Life itself is a continuous strife for ideal aims. This process, however, should not destroy religion nor violate moral rules. The Church with its culture and its traditions is not an enemy of progress; it will continue to support progressive movements, scientific research and a sane evolution. But while we endeavor to improve contemporary civilization, our efforts must be accompanied by growth of moral values. Modern technology should not enslave the soul, but on the contrary should intensify our spiritual life. It is not most essential to effect rev-

olutionary changes; it is more important to improve the spiritual point of view. Progress cannot become a synonym of Godlessness. It should be an incentive for spiritual greatness. A new era without Christianity would become an era of enslavement of the individual.

Materialistic philosophy is competing with Christianity and is endeavoring to become the sole educator of future generations. Its one aim is the increase of material wealth. Materialistic civilization is being constructed without the inspiration of religion and of moral law. Materialism denies the existence of God; it has rejected the concept of an immortal soul and of a supernatural order. It does not believe in an eternal goal, it belittles religion and is bitterly opposing the Catholic Church. A flood of materialistic revolution is spreading all over the world.

In spite of all disasters that materialism brought upon mankind, it has still an appeal of novelty and is becoming the greatest temptation of our times, endangering faith and Christian culture.

We would assume a heavy responsibility in the face of God if we were not to use the power of our mission of shepherds to protect the soul of the Polish nation against the danger of materialistic civilization. Poland must be a modernized country, a country where justice and general welfare are reigning, enriched by scientific

and technical achievements, a civilized country wisely organized and ruled. Poland, however, cannot be a Godless country. Poland cannot break her links with the Christian world. Poland cannot betray its Christian heritage. Poland cannot become a communist country. Poland must remain a Catholic country.

We are, therefore, appealing to Polish souls and to Polish hearts. Do not tolerate the creation of a rift between the nation and the Church. Do not waste the spiritual heritage of our forefathers. Our religious life must be strengthened by Christian law, by Holy Sacraments and by God's Grace. Let us achieve in a calm and dignified manner as befits Catholics; let us steadfastly believe in the superiority of spiritual values over materialistic achievements, of man above nature, of God over all living beings. Everyone, in his own way, should become an apostle, a preacher of the Kingdom of God. Preservation of the Catholic spirit in your homes, in your families, in cities and villages should be your greatest concern, so that they reflect their inward spirituality.

Do not allow the Church to be belittled. The Church is the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ (I Cor. 12, 27) and the Ark of Salvation. Let us beware of the activities of various sects and heresies which are spreading a net of treacherous propaganda. Be on your guard against false and

misleading theories of non-Catholic denominations, alien to our Polish spirit. They are being infiltrated from abroad and are finding strong support in foreign countries. Our joint responsibility for the preservation of Christianity should become a base for brotherhood "Loving one another with the charity of brotherhood" (Romans 12, 10), and our strength should be found at the Holy Table in "unity of the Spirit" (Eph. 4, 3).

Give all your support to the Catholic clergy, whose ranks were decimated through the great martyrdom. Do not lay the entire burden on their shoulders, do not lay the entire responsibility for the Sacred Cause upon them. In a spirit of faith gather around your archpriests, whom the Holy Ghost hath placed to rule the Church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood. (Acts 20, 28).

II

RESTORATION OF GOD'S ORDER

Our further task is the restoration of God's order in our lives. Christianity provides eternal moral foundations of life and is a religion of moral rebirth. Only Christianity possesses the secret of healing all moral wounds. Such words as law, conscience, goodness, duty, virtue, sin and freedom are loaded with deeper meaning when interpreted in a Christian way. The superiority and eternal validity of Christian moral law derive primarily

from this fact, that it was created by God Himself, and in the second place because it is compatible with human nature and with the final destiny of man. A man living according to the revealed moral law is in harmony with God and with himself; he is fulfilling the plan of God and his own temporal and eternal vocation. By complying with the rules of the Gospel, a Christian not only does not offend his human nature but intensifies its natural qualities. When striving for perfection with the aid of supernatural Grace, he only raises the dignity of his natural stature.

Materialistic ethics, on the contrary, offer us only a short-lived happiness, and at the same time abase and belittle the man. Sensuous pleasures, greediness for wealth and selfishness are taking their revenge by distorting and weakening our character. They lead to lawlessness and wild barbarism. During the past years we were witnesses and victims to these manifestations of the ruthless, brutal barbarity.

We are shocked and terrified at the sight of a monstrous debasement of mankind, choosing the treacherous way of Godless ethics and of a materialistic concept of life. We are, therefore, commending those faithful Christians who continue to fulfil their duties in an honest and ethical way, shunning evil advices and temptations. These men are loyal servants of God

with pure and incorruptible hearts. They evidence charity and love for their neighbours. Through their honest and conscientious fulfilment of every day tasks they are an asset to society and at the same time multiply the heritage of spiritual values.

We are full of esteem and recognition of these faithful Christians who showed the greatness of Catholic spirit under the rule of triumphant pagan Hitlerism. In spite of pressure and threats, they remained faithful followers of Christ and fulfilled the law of God. They never agreed to bargain with their conscience; they suffered humiliations and persecutions, but under the most difficult conditions they never deprived anybody of personal property, and refused to serve invaders and enemies of God. We wish to praise the meritorious works of those priests and members of Religious Orders who in spite of dangers resumed their apostolic activity as soon as they regained their personal freedom.

We are grateful to God that He gave supernatural strength to those fearless Christians who, being faced with the loss of freedom, continued to carry on their patriotic activities, to those who protected the Most Holy Sacrament from desecration, who brought the Viaticum to dying people and sheltered priests, pursued by persecutors. They offered their own dwellings for religious celebrations. They conducted religious teaching in

secret and prepared the children for Holy Communion. In many instances they prevented sacrilegious destruction of liturgical vestments and protected many churches from looting.

We want to pay the highest tribute to the sacred memory of Bishops, of priests and of all loyal Christians who have endured terrible hardships in prisons and in concentration camps and have died gladly for Christ, for the Church and for a Catholic Poland. They died with a serene courage akin to that of the first martyrs. Let us hope that their merits and their prayers will bring a revival of faith in our fatherland.

But, although we pay homage to the heroism, silent sacrifices and everyday virtues of all countless victims, we must warn you of a general lowering of morals in private and public life. Debauchery and self-indulgence are taking the place of Christian chastity. Intemperance endangers the health of our nation.

These degrading evils of a postwar era must be eradicated. We must restore an evangelic way of life. We must oppose birth control, divorces and disloyalty in familial life. Our youth, guided and inspired by the Holy Spirit, have a higher standard of spiritual living than the adult generation. It should be encouraged to progress along the proper road and to cultivate its moral integrity.

We also should cleanse public life in Poland of dishonesty, treachery

and of gangsterism. Personal property should be respected, stolen articles must be restored to their owners. Private and public institutions should be immune from damage. Strict adherence to agreements must be the binding rule and an indispensable factor in order and peace. Labor—which is our sacred duty—should be performed and, following the Papal Encyclicals, it should be given a just remuneration so that every citizen be enabled to have a decent standard of living for himself and for his family. Withholding of wages was always considered by the Church as a sin that cries to Heaven for vengeance. Those guilty of plundering, looting and thievery, of appropriating State and private property; those guilty of hold-ups, killings and robberies are placing themselves outside of society as dangerous outcasts.

PHILOSOPHY OF HATE

We must eliminate hate—which is Satan's seed, a philosophy of hate is contradictory to Christian doctrine. It is an explosive element that disrupts private and public life. In all ideological controversies, as well as in politics, hate should be considered a forbidden weapon. The principal law of Christ is Love, which brings together peoples of divergent beliefs and opinions. We must counteract the slogans of hate and revenge with the teachings of the Gospel of justice and of charity.

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Future Poland is a Poland of brotherhood where, obviously, there will always be divergencies of opinion but where at the same time a common bond will form an unbreakable link and a ground for mutual understanding. Only then will Poland achieve social and political harmony, when it finds the answer to vital ideals and their realization in the teachings of Christ. Such a Poland will become a country where all its citizens, united by a common social program and the love for fatherland, will be endeavoring to instal God's Order, which guarantees welfare and complete freedom of conscience.

Let us recall the wise and timely advice of St. Paul: "So we, being many, are one body in Christ; and every one members one of another: . . . Let love be without dissimulation. Hating that which is evil, cleaving to that which is good, loving one another with the charity of brotherhood: with honor preventing one another. . . . Being of one mind one towards another. To no man rendering evil for evil. . . . If it be possible, as much as is in you, have peace with all men. . . . Be not overcome by evil: but overcome evil by good." (*Romans 12, 5-21*)

III

ETERNAL JUSTICE

In our era, the violent and sudden changes may be regarded from various

angles. One day mankind will understand their full meaning. It will then become clear that it was not another dramatic cycle of history but that it had a special and profound meaning. Even now it might be stated that God has entered into the destinies of nations to turn them from their travel toward impending doom. In a world of triumphing arrogance, of religious heresies and lawlessness, God manifested His terrible omnipotence. Eternal Justice is striking at sinful pride and godlessness. But together with God's wrath His eternal Charity is also manifesting itself. God has punished the world in order that it may recover from its folly and become a foundation for the reconstruction of God's order.

We should consider this extraordinary intervention on the part of Providence as an appeal for universal expiation. In cemeteries and ruined cities, on the tombs of innocent victims the eye of faith sees the warning of Christ: "Unless you shall do penance, you shall all likewise perish" (*Luke, 13, 5*).

We are called upon to make amends for our sins. Such a penance for an individual implies return to God, breaking of sinful ties, a sincere confession, adequate expiation and the practice of Christian virtues. Penance in the national life implies a rejection of officially admitted Godless doctrines and a discontinuance of war waged against the Church,

with a reconstruction of State and of internal life according to the principles of Christian ethics.

Christ's teachings are not yet fully understood by all of us because of their supernatural character and because of the enslavement of man by materialistic doctrines. Many are showing reluctance; many are clinging to falsehoods and become more ruthless in their anti-religious activities. They believe that they are able to create a world where there will be no place for God. This thoroughly false approach must be changed if Poland is to avoid destruction. No half-ways and compromising will check the process of disintegration. A fundamental moral readjustment is essential. Happiness and greatness cannot be based upon moral quagmires. The secret of internal harmony and of international peace is to be found only in the Christian Gospel, and not in popular slogans.

And that is why we urge you, dear members of our Dioceses, to break with a sinful past through a sincere Easter confession and to start a new life, based upon God's commandments. Let us restore God's order in our Polish souls. May every family approach God more closely, strengthen their faith and cultivate virtue. A daily prayer recited by all members of the family will bring them Divine protection and blessing.

During this year and the next years, missions will be carried on in

all parishes. Do not refuse your co-operation to Christ and to the Church in the work of the spiritual rehabilitation of Poland. Poland must become God's country, not only in private life, but it must also become a State of God. Poland will grow to become a moral power and an inspiration for all European peoples only when it shall not yield to the temptation of Godlessness and shall stand by God in the final strife.

As a radiant center of Christianity, Poland will become a pattern and a mediator in the future brotherhood of all nations. Such a brotherhood cannot be created by diplomatic scheming. Poland is standing at present at the crossroads of history. She cannot falter; she cannot go astray; she must accomplish her historic mission by rejecting all poisonous theories and offering to the world the Gospel of Truth and of Love.

A deeper knowledge of the aims of Christianity would help us to erect a spiritual barrier against a world of decay and falsehood, a world which will perish, while Poland will become the leader of the New Order arising from ruins and cemeteries.

"Bear not the yoke with unbelievers. For what participation hath just with injustice? Or what fellowship hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath the faithful with the unbeliever? And what agreement hath the temple of God with

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idols? For you are the temple of the living God; as God saith: 'I will dwell in them and walk among them. And I will be their God: and they shall be my people.'" (II Cor. 6, 14-16).

We should betray our historic tradition and overlook our debt of gratitude, if we did not on the eve of a new era renew our pledge of a sacred allegiance to our Heavenly Queen. For centuries, Mary was venerated and loved by all Poles. At the time of the Swedish invasion the Polish nation, with its king Casimir, renewed its pledge of loyalty. Nowadays, the same nation and the same country is placing its fate at the feet of the Mother of God and renews a solemn vow of obedience to this Heavenly Sponsor of Poland and its people. We are joining all other Catholic nations who have followed the encouraging advice and the example of Pope Pius XII, in paying a universal homage to the Most Holy Virgin, the Queen and the Advocate of all living beings. They are pleading for assistance that mankind may be rescued from drowning and that the Church may be protected by her all-powerful arm.

The Polish people will offer their vows to Mary, Mother of God, on three occasions:

On the Sunday after the Feast of the Annunciation (July 7), the ceremonies will be held in all parishes. Completion of vows will be made

in all parish churches and chapels of religious communities after the Solemn Mass. They will be preceded by a Triduum and general Holy Communion of all faithful.

On the Feast of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, solemn vows will be made by all Bishops, during special celebrations.

On the Feast of the Birth of the Holy Virgin, all members of the Polish Episcopate will hold a special religious service in the Church of the Mother of God of Czestochowa and commend to her the whole nation and the Polish Republic. This celebration will be attended by a great number of pilgrims.

If this act of devotion is accomplished in a spirit of genuine faith and put into action, it will have a profound significance and meaning upon the future of our Republic. The renewal of our vows will strengthen the frame of God's Order in our Republic. As loyal servants of God and of the Heavenly Queen we shall permeate private and public life in Poland with a truly Christian spirit.

May the Grace of the Merciful God strengthen your souls and assist you in your sacred and difficult task in our historic era. May our Blessing, which we bestow upon all our beloved in Christ, in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, be the forerunner of blessings to come from heaven. Amen.

Mr. Taylor to the Vatican

A Statement by President Truman, May 3, 1946

I HAVE asked Mr. Myron C. Taylor to return to Italy as my personal representative to His Holiness the Pope, with the rank of Ambassador.

After the cessation of hostilities Mr. Taylor came home for consultation and report. I have studied his report of his several audiences with the Pope with interest and with profit. I feel that he can continue to render helpful service to the cause of Christian civilization if, at my instance, from time to time, he resumes his duties in Italy.

As on his previous trips Mr. Taylor will confer not only with the Pope but with other leaders in the spiritual world and in the world of politics and secular affairs as he travels through Europe in the fulfilment of his mission.

The cessation of active fighting has left the world in a state of unrest. In many quarters we witness lamentable conflicts of principle and policy. Out of all this unrest and conflict, however, one conviction emerges as clear as the noonday. It is that we shall establish an enduring peace only if we build it upon Christian principles.

In the dark days of 1940 President Roosevelt sent Mr. Taylor to Italy as his personal representative. His mission was most helpful to the cause of peace and in the alleviation of suffering brought about by the most awful conflict in the annals of mankind, and it will be, I am sure, equally useful in the future.

There is no minimizing the gravity of the days in which we live. I feel the necessity of having for my guidance the counsel and cooperation of all men and women of good-will, whether in religion, in government or in the pursuits of every-day life.

I have therefore sought the advice of leaders in religion of various convictions and allegiances, not only in this country but from abroad. I feel that all have a vital contribution to make.

I shall continue to welcome the counsel of such leaders to the end that the voice of conscience may be heard in the councils of nations as they seek a solution of the age-old problem: the government of man.

Europe's "Eastern Desert"

MAX EDWARD GERZEN

Reprinted from PEOPLE & FREEDOM*

"THE Poles have tried to populate their new territory with their own people, but without success. Before the war 18,000 Germans lived in the suburbs of Frankfurt-on-Oder on the east bank of the Oder. Now there are only 60 Polish families there."

Thus the words of the Russian-appointed anti-Nazi mayor of Frankfurt-on-Oder, Dr. Ruge, as reported by William Forrest, the special correspondent of the *News Chronicle*. They were spoken to a number of British correspondents in the presence of the Russian military Commandant of the town and "an impressive escort of Red Army Officers."

Then Mr. Forrest and his colleagues "went down to the Oder and gazed across at Poland." The new, Yalta-created Poland. "Nothing stirred there," he writes. And he adds: "On the one side lies Poland's 'Western Desert,' as I heard it called in Warsaw; on the other side lies a German graveyard."

Let's, for the moment, forget the "German graveyard." Let us contemplate "Poland's Western Desert."

If it were only that, it would be terrible enough for a European peo-

ple which has already suffered so much from its two neighbours since the autumn of 1939. But it is more than that, it is worse than that: it is Europe's new, man-created "Eastern Desert."

The Poles, indeed, call it their "Wild West," if we can believe the word of a Special Correspondent of the *Times* (14 December, 1945), who himself has another word for the parts of Silesia which he was allowed to visit. He calls this land of once thriving cities, fertile fields and rich mines "a country for pioneers." The *Economist*, less romantic, in its issue of 22 September, 1945, pronounced Silesia "almost a desert" and called the new western frontiers of Poland a "disastrous fait accompli."

Disastrous for Europe. For in this wide European desert, where "nothing stirs" lived at one time nearly nine million people, producing food from millions of acres of land cultivated by the highest standard of agricultural methods, producing goods in busy, model factories, laboratories and mines.

The eye-witnesses who have described the desolation of that European area merely gave factual con-

* 32, Chepstow Villas, London, W. 11, England, February, 1946

firmation of conditions which any intelligent person in possession of the available statistical facts about the population of eastern Central Europe could figure out for himself with statistics and facts which were surely in the reach of the official advisers of the statesmen who in Yalta decreed the depopulation of that part of our continent.

Let it be said here that the Polish government in London, itself a victim of Yalta, had absolutely nothing to do with this decision. This Polish government never asked for more lands in the West than East Prussia and Upper Silesia with the Glatzer Neisse (not the much more westerly Lausitzer Neisse) as frontier. Considering all the circumstances this was an understandable demand from their point of view, especially as there was no question then of forcibly ejecting the native population. But even if this had been insisted upon at the peace conference and carried out in a way less imitative of Nazi methods than is now the case, the newly-acquired western lands could have been, without great difficulty and without disastrous consequences to their economic prosperity, settled and populated by the surplus Polish population inside and outside the Republic of 1939. They could have become, economically as well as nationally, a real asset for resurrected Poland.

Incidentally, none of the statesmen

and politicians, and none of the editorial writers and "diplomatic correspondents" of the mighty press organs, seemed to have noticed, or if they did they deliberately ignored, the dishonest bit of legerdemain by which in Yalta the western Neisse was substituted for the eastern river of the same name. And thus another 3,399,999 square miles of rich and fertile European land was condemned to ruin and 3,300,000 more European men, women and children robbed of their homes and the soil in which for hundreds of years of European history their ancestors have been buried.

The pre-Yalta Polish government can not be blamed for the creation of this Eastern Desert in Europe, a desert, because it is quite impossible for the new Poland to re-populate this part of Europe with the surplus Polish manpower at their disposal.

FORGOTTEN STATISTICS

What are the facts?

President Thomas Masaryk, a great and true European, published in 1923 his book *Les Slaves après la Guerre*. In this book he gave the total number of Poles in Europe as 17,500,000. Two years before, in 1921, the official Polish statistics (*Rocznik Statyki Rzeczypospolitej*) had given the number of Poles in the Republic alone as 18,811,550, this out of a total population of the Republic of 27,192,764 nationals.

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Republic less than 700,000 lived in eastern provinces now lost to Russia in accordance with the Yalta decisions, the rest of the population being non-Poles. To the Poles inside the 1939 frontiers of the Republic must be added the Polish minorities in Lithuania, Russia, Germany and Czechoslovakia. Their total number was roughly 1,200,000; of these not more than 700,000 lived in eastern Germany, corresponding to a German minority in pre-war Poland of about 950,000 souls. As these Germans are being expelled from the territory of the old Republic we may "pair them off" with the Poles in Germany, in regard to acquiring "living space," disregarding for the sake of simplification the balance in favor of the larger number of Germans who were Polish nationals.

That leaves us with 500,000 Poles outside the 1939 Poland to which must now be added the roughly 700,000 Poles formerly in the lost eastern Provinces now annexed to Russia.

We don't know how many Polish nationals of other races, White Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Ruthenians, have fled into western Poland before the occupation of eastern Poland by the Red Army; nor how many of these people, now de facto Russian nationals, will be allowed to opt for Poland and go West. The figure, taking everything in account (the Russian Military Govern-

ment in Germany demands the return to Russia of all P.O.W.s', Displaced Persons and Polish Forces from the former eastern Polish provinces) cannot be much higher perhaps than one million. It may be much less, as it would seem quite against Russian policy to allow anyone but real, racial "Poles" to leave the territory of the new Soviet Republics of Lithuania, White Russia and Ukraine. But for argument's sake let's call it a million.

If one adds this one million to the 500,000 "outside" Poles and the 700,000 "racial" Poles in the lost eastern provinces, the surplus Polish population available to populate and "pioneer" the new "Western Poland" where once lived nearly 9,000,000 people would count up to 2,200,000 men, women and children.

Now, in this new "Western Poland" stretching along the Baltic sea from near Koenigsberg to Stettin and from Stettin down, along the Oder and the Lausitzer Neisse, to the northern mountain ranges of Bohemia and Moravia, the urban population alone, living in towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants, was 2,860,000 souls, of which about 1,320,000 lived in six cities: Allenstein, Schneidemuehl, Danzig, Stettin, Liegnitz and Breslau (620,000 inhabitants). Therefore, to repopulate six cities alone, and to keep them alive in their former civic, economic and cultural state would take nearly two thirds of the whole Polish surplus man-

power, leaving not even enough to repopulate the rest of the urban communities in this area!

THE FUTURE?

What then is to become of the land around and between those cities and towns, the 42,000 square miles of fertile agricultural and rich industrial area? An area of Europe so rich and prosperous that, according to the same Special Correspondent of the *Times*, the Warsaw government values it at £1,350,000 more than the old eastern provinces, less in area by 27,000 square miles, which had to be ceded to Russia.

What, indeed, is to be the fate of this wide stretch of Europe which

for many hundreds of years has played its vital part in the economic life of Central Europe? Not to mention, although for a European hard to forget, that thence came Kant, Schopenhauer, Schleiermacher, and Angelus Silesius, Herder, Eichendorff and Gerhart Hauptmann, to name but a very few. To these we might add the names of Cardinal Kopp and Cardinal Bertram, two only out of legions of exalted and humble pastors of their people down the centuries.

The fate of these lands? The answer has already been given: "Europe's Eastern Desert." Where nothing stirs. A land of civic and economic desolation: the "Wild West" of the Eurasian East.



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